Contacts of Languages and Peoples in the Hittite and Post-Hittite World

Volume 2, The 1st Millennium and the Eastern Mediterranean Interface

Edited by Federico Giusfredi, Alvise Matessi,
Stella Merlin, Valerio Pisaniello

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VOLUME 2

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the Eastern Mediterranean Interface*

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Abbreviations

ACLT2   Yakubovich, Ilya, Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts, 2nd version (https://luwian.web-corpora.net/)

AfO 17   Weidner, Ernst. Review of Poebel, Arno. *The Second Dynasty of Isin according to a New King-List Tablet* (Assyriological Studies 15). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 17 (1954–1956), pp. 383–385.

AhT   Beckman, Gary M., Bryce, Trevor R., and Cline, Eric H. *The Ahhiyawa Texts* (Writings from the Ancient World 28). Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.

ARM   *Archives Royales de Mari*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

AuOrS 1   Arnaud, Daniel. *Textes syriens de l'âge du Bronze Récent* (Aula Orientalis. Supplement 1). Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1991.

CAD   *The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010.

CGL   *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

CHD   *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980 ff.

Chicago Homer   *The Chicago Homer*, ed. by A. Kahane and M. Mueller, available at (https://homer.library.northwestern.edu/).

CHLI I   Hawkins, John David. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, Volume 1. Inscriptions of the Iron Age* (Studies in Indo-European Language and Culture 8.1). Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2000.

CHLI II   Çambel, Halet. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions. Volume 2. Karatepe-Aslantaş* (Studies in Indo-European Language & Culture 8.2). Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1999.

CHLI III   Hawkins, John David. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, Volume 3. Inscriptions of Hittite Empire and New Inscriptions of the Iron Age* (Studies in Indo-European Language and Culture 8.3). Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2024.

CIG   *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*. (4 vols). Berlin, 1828–1877.

CIPPh   Brixhe, Claude, and Lejeune, Michel. *Corpus des inscriptions paléophrygiennes. I Texte, II Planches*. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1984.

CTH   Laroche, Emmanuel, Catalogue des textes hittites, Paris: Klincksieck, 1971; premier supplément, Revue Hittite et Asianique 30 (1972), pp. 94–133; Online edition: Košak, Silvin et al., https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/.

CTU   Salvini, Mirjo. *Corpus dei testi urartei.* (4 vols). Roma: CNR—Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, 2008–2012.

DELG   Chantraine, Pierre. *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque. Histoire des mots.* Paris: Klincksieck, 1999.

DLL   Melchert, H. Craig. *A Dictionary of the Lycian Language.* New York/Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press, 2004.

DMic.   Aura Jorro, Francisco. *Diccionario Micénico.* Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985.

DMic. II   Aura Jorro, Francisco. *Diccionario Micénico.* Volumen II. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993.

EA   Knudtzon, Jörgen A., *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek II), Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915.

EDAIL   Martirosyan, Hrach K. *Etymological Dictionary of the Armenian Inherited Lexicon.* (Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 8). Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010.

EDG   Beekes, Robert S.P., with the assistance of Lucien van Beek. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (2 vols) (Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 10). Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010.

EDHIL   Kloekhorst, Alwin. *Etymological dictionary of the Hittite inherited lexicon.* (Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 5). Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008.

eDiAna   Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php).

FdX VI   Metzger, Henri, Laroche, Emmanuel, Dupont-Sommer, André, and Mayrhofer, Manfred, eds *Fouilles de Xanthos VI: La stèle trilingue du Létôon.* Paris: Klincksieck, 1979.

FGrH   Jacoby, Felix. *Die Fragmente Der Griechischen Historiker Part I–III.* Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 1926–.

GEW   Frisk, Hjalmar. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960–1972.

GI   Montanari, Franco, ed, *Dizionario Greco-Italiano.* Torino: Loescher, 1995.

Godley, Loeb 1920   Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, Volume I: Books 1–2. Translated by A.D. Godley (Loeb Classical Library 117), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920.

Godley, Loeb 1922   Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, Volume III: Books 5–7. Translated by A.D. Godley (Loeb Classical Library 119), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922.

HED   Puhvel, Jaan. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary.* Berlin/New York: Mouton, 1984–.

HEG   Tischler, Johann. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. Innsbruck: Institut
         für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1977–2016.

HKM   Alp, Sedat, Masat-Höyük'te bulunan civi yazili Hitit tabletleri/Hittite Cune-
         iform Tablets from Masat-Höyük (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları vi/34),
         Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1991.

HW²   Friedrich, Johannes et al., eds *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig
         neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte*.
         Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1975–.

Jones, Loeb 1929   Strabo, Geography, Volume VI: Books 13–14. Translated by Horace
         Leonard Jones. Loeb Classical Library 223. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Uni-
         versity Press, 1929.

KAI   Donner, Herbert, and Röllig, Wolfgang. *Kanaanäische und Aramäische In-
         schriften*. (3 vols). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960–1964.

KBo   Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, vols. 1–6 Leipzig: Hinrichs; vols. 7–70 Berlin:
         Mann; vol. 71: Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur,
         1916 ff.

KH   Peker, Hasan. *Texts from Karkemish I. Luwian Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from
         the 2011–2015 Excavations* (OrientLab. Series Maior 1). Bologna: Ante Quem,
         2016.

KN   Melena, José L. and Firth, Richard J. The Knossos Tablets. 6th edition.
         Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press, 2019.f

KON   Zgusta, Ladislav. *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1984.

KPN   Zgusta, Ladislav. *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*. Prague: Verlag der Tsche-
         choslowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1964.

KUB   *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1921–1990.

LGPN V.A Corsten, Thomas, ed, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume V. A.
         Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010.

LGPN V.B Balzat, Jéan-Sebastien, Catling, Richard W.V., Chiricat, Édouard, and Marc-
         hand, Fabienne eds *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume V. B. Coastal
         Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013.

LGPN V.C Fraser, Peter, and Matthews, Elaine, eds *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names.
         V.C. Inland Asia Minor*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2018.

LiDo   Lehmann, Christian. *An online multilingual linguistic terminology database*
         (http://linguistik.uni-regensburg.de:8080/lido/Lido).

LIV²   Rix, Helmut. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. Wiesbaden: Reichert,
         2001.

LSJ   Liddell, Henry George and Scott, Robert. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Revised
         and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance
         of Roderick McKenzie. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940.

LW   Gusmani, Roberto. *Lydisches Wörterbuch. Mit grammatischer Skizze und
         Inschriftensammlung*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1964.

LW/N   New Lydian inscriptions published after Gusmani, Roberto. *Lydisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1964.

NH   Laroche, Emmanuel. *Le noms des Hittites*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1966.

MAMA   Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

MAMA IV Buckler, William Hepburn, Calder, William Moir, and Guthrie, William Keith Chambers. *Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia* (Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua 4). Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933.

MAMA V   Cox, Christopher William Machell and Cameron, Archibald. *Monuments from Dorylaeum et Nacolea* (Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua 5). Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937.

Murray, Loeb 1924   Homer. *Iliad, Volume 1: Books 1–12*. Translated by A.T. Murray. Revised by William F. Wyatt (Loeb Classical Library 170). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.

OIP 2   Luckenbill, Daniel David. *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Oriental Institute Publications 2), Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924.

Packhum *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (https://epigraphy.packhum.org/).

PBS   *Publications of the Babylonian Section*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1911–.

PF   Elamite texts of the Persepolis Fortification, numbered after Hallock, Richard T. Persepolis Fortification Tablets (Oriental Institute Publications 92). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969.

PRU   Schaeffer, Claude F.-A., ed, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit* 1–6. Paris: Klincksieck, 1955–1970.

RIMA 2 Grayson, Albert K. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, Volume 1 (1114–859 BC). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

RIMA 3 Grayson, Albert K. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, Volume 2 (858–745 BC). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

RINAP 1 Tadmor, Hayim, and Yamada, Shiego. *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC)*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011.

RINAP 2 Frame, Grant. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria (721–705 BC)*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2021.

RINAP 5 Novotny, Jamie, and Jeffers, Joshua. *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668–631 BC), Aššur-etel-ilāni (630–627 BC) and Sîn-šarra-iškun (626–612 BC), Kings of Assyria. Parts 1 & 2*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2018–2023.

RS   Texts from Ras Shamra.

RSL   Texts from Ras Shamra (Louvre Museum).

SEG   *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Vols. 1–11, ed Jacob E. Hondius,

Leiden 1923–1954. Vols. 12–25, ed Arthur G. Woodhead. Leiden 1955–1971. Vols. 26–41, eds Henry W. Pleket and Ronald S. Stroud. Amsterdam 1979–1994. Vols. 42–44, eds Henry W. Pleket, Ronald S. Stroud and Johan H.M. Strubbe. Amsterdam 1995–1997. Vols. 45–49, eds Henry W. Pleket, Ronald S. Stroud, Angelos Chaniotis and Johan H.M. Strubbe. Amsterdam 1998–2002. Vols. 50--, eds Angelos Chaniotis, Ronald S. Stroud and Johan H.M. Strubbe. Amsterdam 2003–.

SGDI II   Collitz, Hermann, ed, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften, II. Epirus, Akarnanien, Altolien, Aenianen, Phthiotis, Lokris, Phokis, Dodona, Achaia und seine Colonien, Delphi.* Göttingen: Hermann Collitz, 1899.

Smith, Loeb 1919   Thucydides. *History of the Peloponnesian War, Volume 1: Books 1–2.* Translated by C.F. Smith (Loeb Classical Library 108), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919.

TAD B   Porten, Bezalel, and Yardeni, Ada. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt.* Volume 2. Jerusalem: Eisenbrauns, 1989.

TAM   Tituli Asiae Minoris, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

TAM II   Kalinka, Ernst. *Tituli Lyciae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti* (Tituli Asiae Minoris II). Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1920–1944.

TAM V   Herrmann, Peter. *Tituli Lydiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti* (Tituli Asiae Minoris V). Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 1: 1981 ; vol. 2: 1989.

TCS   Texts from Cuneiform Sources, Locust Valley: J.J. Augustin.

TCS 5   Grayson, A. Kirk. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5). Locust Valley: J.J. Augustin, 1975.

Th.LG   *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae ab Henrico Stephano constructus.* Ed. by Charles B. Hase, Wilhelm Dindorf and Ludwig A. Dindorf, Paris, 1831–1865.

TL   Kalinka, Ernst. *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti* (Tituli Asiae Minoris 1). Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1901.

TLG   *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/).

Ug. V   Nougayrol, Jean, Laroche, Emmanuel, Virolleaud, Charles and Schaeffer, Claude F.A. (1968). *Ugaritica* V. Nouveaux *textes accadiens*, *hourrites* et *ugaritiques* des archives et *bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit*, *commentaires* des *textes historiques* (première *partie*). Paris: Imprimerie Nationale/Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

Wb   Erman, Adolf and Grapow, Hermann, eds, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1926–1961.

Linguistic and Paleographic Abbreviations

acc.   accusative
act.   active
Akkad.   Akkadian
Anat.   Anatolian
Aram.   Aramaic
Arm.   Armenian
Bab.   Babylonian
Car.   Carian
CLuw.   Cuneiform Luwian
Cypr.   Cyprian
dat.   dative
Dor.   Doric
Elam.   Elamite
fem.   feminine
gen.   genitive
gen.adj.   genitival adjective
Gr.   Greek
Hitt.   Hittite
HLuw.   Hieroglyphic Luwian
Hurr.   Hurrian
imp.   imperative
Ion.-Att.   Ionian-Attic
Lat.   Latin
loc.   locative
LNS   Late New Script
Luw.   Luwian
Lyc.   Lycian
Lyd.   Lydian
masc.   masculine
MAss.   Middle-Assyrian
Med.   Median
Mil.   Milyan
MP   modal particle
Myc.   Mycenaean
n.   neuter gender
NAss.   Neo-Assyrian
NH   New Hittite
nom.   nominative

NS	New Script
obv.	obverse
OIran.	Old Iranian
OPers.	Old Persian
PA	Proto-Anatolian
Pamph.	Pamphylian
PG	Pre-Greek
Phoen.	Phoenician
Phryg.	Phrygian
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Pis.	Pisidian
pl.	plural
PN	personal name
pres.	present
pret.	preterit
rev.	reverse
sg.	singular
Sid.	Sidetic
SOV	subject-object-verb
Sum.	Sumerian
SVO	subject-verb-object
Ugar.	Ugaritic
VSO	verb-subject-object

Historical Periods and Other Abbreviations

IA	Iron Age
LH	Late Helladic
SACC	Syro-Anatolian Cultural Complex
YHSS	Yassıhöyük Stratigraphic Sequence

Introduction to Volume 2

F. Giusfredi, A. Matessi, S. Merlin and V. Pisaniello

1 What is This Volume?

This edited volume is the second part of the book *Contacts of Languages and Peoples in the Hittite and Post-Hittite world*, dedicated to the Iron Age and the Aegean-Anatolian interface. The first volume appeared as a monograph in 2023, with the subtitle *The Bronze Age and Hatti*. The two works together represent a description of the state of the art and a synthesis of the research carried out by the ERC project PALaC (*Pre-Classical Anatolian Languages in Contact*), that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement n° 757299). As outlined in the methodological section of the introduction to Volume 1, this book is not a collection of all forms or borrowings, but rather a general treatment of the types of attested phenomena that has a wide, areal scope. To avoid unpleasant and unnecessary repetitions, further details on the project can be found in the general introduction to volume 1 (Giusfredi, Matessi, and Pisaniello 2023:1–7).

2 The Structure of the Book

2.1 *Editors and Contributors*

Contrary to volume 1, a monograph with three main authors and limited portions written by external contributors, this second volume is conceived as a much more polyphonic work, with Federico Giusfredi, Alvise Matessi, Stella Merlin, and Valerio Pisaniello acting instead as editors, and a very significant number of chapters written by other collaborators. Two of these, Elena Martínez-Rodríguez and Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach, were postdoctoral researchers at PALaC for periods between one and two years. Filip De Decker was appointed as a visiting scholar for a semester during spring of 2020, but due to the pandemic he had to cooperate with PALaC mostly from remote. Two others, H. Craig Melchert and Zsolt Simon, are external authors who agreed to contribute with two very important chapters to this collection.

Furthermore, along with the contributors, the PALaC team would like to thank the scholars who provided us with precious advice regarding the contents of one or more chapters or on specific aspects of our research. These were Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, Michele Bianconi, Paola Cotticelli-Kurras, İlgi Gerçek, Alfredo Rizza, Eleonora Selvi, and Ilya Yakubovich. A special thanks goes to Michele Massa, James Osborne, and Chris Bachhuber for hosting the project's main historian, Alvise Matessi, at the premises of their archaeological survey project in Konya (KRASP project), which allowed us to provide a much better and updated description of the cultural and historical contacts and patterns of connectivity during the Iron Age in a crucial region for the study of the Anatolian southeastern regions. We are also grateful to the board of the ALAC series, to Brill editors Wendy Logeman and Seçil Ümitvar, to Will Shipley of Cambridge Proofreading for improving our English, and to the anonymous peer-reviewers for their useful remarks. Of course, authors and editors are solely responsible for the contents of the volume and for any possible shortcomings.

Finally, this volume contains a short Bronze Age appendix, which offers a short overview on two languages of the Hittite archives that were not discussed in Vol. 1. In the case of the language of Kalašma, this is because it was discovered only in 2023. In the case of the language of KBo 19.164+, it was already known, but a new join and a new hypothesis were proposed after the publication of the first volume of this work. The authors of the appendix are Elisabeth Rieken, Ilya Yakubovich, and David Sasseville, whom we sincerely thank for their contribution.

2.2   *The Organization of the Contents*

While it would be unnecessary to dwell any further on the aim of the project PALaC, which were duly described in the first introduction (Giusfredi, Matessi, and Pisaniello 2023:1–7), there are some significant differences between the structure of the Bronze Age volume and the structure of this one. The main reason for this is the fact that the Bronze Age research, and its results, mostly orbited around the cuneiform archives of the Hittite Kingdom. While of course this is a case of documentation bias, and the sociolinguistic and cultural diversification of the Anatolian area was probably underrepresented because of the lack of multiple families of sources, the presence and extension of the Hittite archives provided the ground for a common discussion of the different languages used in and around Hattuša, which were introduced separately and then analyzed jointly in the final part of the book.

The present volume, on the contrary, deals with two objects, the Anatolian and peri-Anatolian area in the Iron Age and then the Aegean-Anatolian interface during the first millennium BCE (with also a digression on Mycenaean).

Neither is monolithic. Instead, each of the two has several internal differences that stem from a number of different corpora (Lydian, Lycian, Hieroglyphic Luwian, Carian, Mycenaean, epigraphic alphabetic Greek, alphabetic Greek of the literary tradition, etc.). This, along with being the main reason for the polyphonic model of authorship of this collection, impacted on the way the chapters are organized.

In part I, which opens this volume, we will deal with the ancient Near-Eastern interface of the Anatolian languages during the first millennium. This section begins with two historical chapters that provide a contextualization for the discussions and data that follow. As a convention, we decided to maintain the rather artificial distinction between Dark Age and Iron Age, which allowed us to better organize the topics and contents. After having set the scene historically and geographically we proceed to the linguistic chapters and concentrate on Hieroglyphic Luwian as well as on the Asian areal relationship of other Anatolian languages of the first millennium, such as Lydian and Lycian in the context of the Achaemenid Empire. Of particular importance is the chapter about Phrygian, which offers an updated overview on the topic, as well as those on Cilicia—a highly problematic linguistic area and a very important historical one—and on the alleged cases of interference between Anatolian and languages that do not belong to the immediate areal continuum. Each chapter, along with introducing the corpora and topics, also offers the analysis and interpretation of the linguistic phenomena.

Part II, about the Eastern Mediterranean and Aegean interface, is where the structure becomes even more complex and the subdivision in main topics inevitably more conventional. After the usual historical contextualization, which tries to collect and compare theories (and problems) about the Western connections of Anatolia from the second millennium onwards, we tackle the problem of Pre-Greek (which we consider to be mostly a methodological one), and try to proceed, at least initially, in chronological order, by discussing the (sparse) evidence for contacts between Anatolian and Mycenaean, and, without the pretense of being exhaustive, the huge scientific problem of Homer and Anatolia (which we attempt to treat by distinguishing between linguistic interference and the separate problem of comparable or shared formulaic expressions). After the Bronze Age intermission, we move back to the future, by dealing with the first millennium Greek material, which is analyzed in terms of lexical interference to the Anatolian languages of Asia Minor, but not without providing what we consider to be an important methodological distinction about the way glosses and late lexical material should enter the equation. Finally, in the very last chapters, we provide further discussion of the first millennium Anatolian languages, this time in their Aegean sociolinguistic context.

3   Multi-authored Chapters

As for chapters written by more than one author, please acknowledge the following attributions. In Chapter 2, sections 3 and 4 (with subsections) are by A. Matessi, sections 1 by A. Matessi and F. Giusfredi and section 5 by F. Giusfredi. In Chapter 3, sections 2.1, with its subsections, and 3, with its subsections, are by A. Matessi; section 2.2.3 is by F. Giusfredi and A. Matessi; all other sections are by F. Giusfredi. In Chapter 5; section 3, with all its subsections, is by F. Giusfredi; section 5 is by F. Giusfredi and V. Pisaniello; all other sections are by V. Pisaniello. In Chapter 11, sections 4, 5, 5.1 and 5.2 are by V. Pisaniello, all other sections are by S. Merlin except section 6, which is by both authors. In Chapter 12, sections 1 and 2.1 with all its subsections are by F. De Decker; sections 2.2 to 2.6 is by S. Merlin and section 3 was written by both authors. In Chapter 14, section 2, with all its subsections, is by B. Obrador-Cursach; all other sections are by S. Merlin. In Chapter 15, section 3, with all its subsections, is by S. Merlin; section 4 is by E. Martínez-Rodríguez and S. Merlin; all other sections are by E. Martínez-Rodríguez. In Chapter 16, section 2, with all its subsections, is by S. Merlin; sections 1 and 5 are by S. Merlin and V. Pisaniello; all other sections are by V. Pisaniello. Chapter 17 was written jointly by the four volume editors. Finally, the Appendix has been authored by Elisabeth Rieken and Ilya Yakubovich (section 1) and David Sasseville (section 2).

4   Chronologies: Addendum

In the introduction to Giusfredi, Matessi, and Pisaniello (2023) we provided a very general and simple tabular chronology which, for sake of simplicity, we also reproduce here.

Dates	Phase (Ancient Near East)	Phase (Aegean)
3rd millennium BCE	Early Bronze Age	Early Helladic
2000–1600 BCE ca.	Middle Bronze Age	Middle to Late Helladic
1600–1200 BCE ca.	Late Bronze Age	Late Helladic / Mycenaean
1200–1000 BCE ca.	Syro-Anatolian Dark Age	Late Mycenaean / Greek Dark Age
1000–539 BCE ca.	Iron Age	Greek Dark Age to Archaic Greece
539–330 BCE ca.	Achaemenid Period	Classical Greece
330 BCE onwards	Hellenistic / Late Period	Hellenistic / Late Period

The entries in this list remain valid also for volume 2. However, we wish to add a further distinction, which is frequently employed in the historical chapters of this book, between Early Iron Age and Middle Iron Age. The former partly overlaps with the Dark Age, and ranges from 1200 to 1000 BCE ca. The latter refers to the period between 1000 and 700 BCE. We will use the label Dark Age as a historical label to refer to the first part of this stage, but we will use the more technical label of Early Iron Age when referring to archaeological phases. Middle Iron Age is followed by the Late Iron Age, which ranges from 700 to 539 BCE, but this stage is not central to our research, because after the decline of most Syro-Anatolian kingdom our attention will mostly turn to the Achaemenid and Hellenistic ages for the discussion of Lydian and of the Luwic languages of the late I millennium.

5   Philological Conventions: Addendum

The conventions we employ to transliterate and transcribe words and text in ancient languages are in general the same as outlined at the beginning of volume 1. Standard transcription systems are employed in Chapter 9 for Armenian, Etruscan, and Kartvelian.

West Semitic alphabets are transliterated, but, unless it is relevant for a specific form, hypothetical vocalization is generally not added. To facilitate the reading of the resulting consonantal strings, we adopt the convention of using italicized capitals, so for instance *PNMW* will represent the name of king Panamuwa (or Punamuwa).

As in volume 1, alphabetic Greek remains the only script that we maintain as it is without transliterating it (except for those cases in which standard praxis dictates normalization, such as famous personal names, e.g., Xerxes or Plato). Occasional Greek letters and specific idiosyncratic glyphs appear in the rendering of some Anatolian languages of the first millennium, such as Carian. In these cases, unless otherwise specified, the conventions are those that were listed in Giusfredi, Matessi, and Pisaniello 2023:1–7.

Federico Giusfredi
Alvise Matessi
Stella Merlin
Valerio Pisaniello
Verona, July 2024

The Ancient Near-Eastern Interface During the First Millennium

∵

The Dark Age

Federico Giusfredi and Alvise Matessi

1 Toward the Iron Age in Anatolia and Syria: An Introduction

As we have seen in the preceding volume of this project, the political scene of western Asia and the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age was monopolized by a restricted circle of great powers whereby Hittite Anatolia interacted and competed on a peer level with Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia. In the next two chapters (and, in part, in Chapter 10), we will explore the crisis of this interregional system in the first decades of the 12th century BCE—combined with economic deterioration, environmental crisis and population movements—and the new local identities that emerged thereafter, reinterpreting various earlier traditions into new hybrid forms. This cultural dynamism was further fostered by a reorientation of interregional exchange networks in the Mediterranean, which for the first time was entirely involved in a deeply interconnected cosmos.[1]

For a long time, the dominant model for characterizing the political landscape emerging in the eastern Mediterranean after the collapse of the Late Bronze Age regional system has emphasized the role of ethno-linguistic boundaries in political negotiations. In his historical interpretations of the period, Liverani (2002, 2014:396–400) characterized the Iron Age political landscape of the eastern Mediterranean by drawing upon a typological distinction between *city-states* and *ethnic states*. According to this classification, city-states would be the heirs of the cantonal kingdoms that, especially in the Levant had emancipated themselves from the hegemony of the former regional powers. This category would comprise the central Levantine city-states composing the reality later known by the Greeks as *Phoenicia*, as well as the polities of southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria. These are labelled by modern scholars as *Syro-Hittite* or *Neo-Hittite* because they reappraised and reinterpreted Hittite cultural traits in new regional styles, chiefly the use of Hieroglyphic Luwian script and language.[2] In Liverani's model, ethnic states, or even *nation states*

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1   Hodos 2020.
2   Osborne 2021:5–7.

as they are alternatively called, would have emerged from the reorganization of local pastoral tribes that had hitherto eluded firm political control by the regional powers or, alternatively, by migrant groups that had recently appeared on the scene. Representative cases within this category would include Aramean kin-based formations of Syria and Mesopotamia and the Phrygian regional kingdom, which emerged in the 9th and 8th centuries around the site of Gordion, in northwestern Anatolia. In turn, Liverani's model contrasts the ethnic and city-states of the eastern Mediterranean with areas east of the Euphrates, where the great regional powers of Assyria and Babylonia continued to exist along broadly the same modes of political, economic and social organization there in place during the Late Bronze Age.

Although the categorization proposed by Liverani was not immediately followed up in subsequent debates on the formation of Iron Age political landscapes,[3] the underpinning equation between ethnicity and politics was deeply rooted as a standard model of interpretation.[4] For example, central Levantine city-states such as Tyre, Sidon and Byblos have never been part of a coherent regional polity, and yet scholars are still reluctant to abandon the idea of an alleged *Phoenician* identity shared by these cities.[5] Similarly, even in the best-informed scholarship, it is still customary to use the term *Aramean* in reference to those polities characterized by a widespread use of Aramaic language in epichoric inscriptions.[6] In turn, the dialectics between supposed *Aramean* and *Luwian* ethnicities are often analyzed as a crucial component of political interactions on the Syro-Levantine scene, especially in those polities that used both corresponding languages.[7] In a similar vein, artifacts from Iron Age Gordion and its environs characterized as *Phrygian* by virtue of their parallels have often been taken as proxies for Phrygian ethnicity and, thus, political domination.[8]

In a recent book, Osborne (2021) presented a critique of these ethno-centric interpretations with a case study on the Iron Age polities of Syria and southeastern Anatolia. The model advanced in this work stressed local strands of cultural hybridity from which the targeted political and cultural landscape emerged, which produced a continuum of shared traits crossing multiple linguistic boundaries. Consistent with this understanding, Osborne also rejects

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3   D'Alfonso 2023.
4   For a detailed synthesis and a comparison with similar approaches to the Iron Age in the Aegean, see Santini 2022:52–75.
5   Quinn 2018.
6   E.g., Younger 2016.
7   E.g., Harrison 2001; Herrmann et al. 2016. See the remarks by Osborne 2021:35–47.
8   E.g., Summers 2018a.

the ethnopolitical labels often employed for his studied context (e.g., *Hittite*, *Luwian*, *Luwo-Aramean*), preferring the more neutral *Syro-Anatolian Cultural Complex* (SACC). This novel framework successfully promotes a more mature conceptualization of the complex spatio-temporal interplay between political claims, linguistic landscapes and, more broadly, cultural expressions. However, the SACC model cannot be a satisfactory proxy for a cultural frontier per se, defined by a set of shared collective identities. For what matters here the emphasis on the common traits forming the SACC—pertaining mainly to means of power legitimation such as monuments and prestigious goods—downplays inner variance or even stark departures between different regional realities and socio-cultural matrices underlying the model. Major cultural frontiers existed within the SACC region, separating vastly different cultural milieus and modes of social organization.[9] Additionally, the migratory approach offered by Osborne (2021:47–59) in an attempt to explain the apparent spread of the Luwian language from Anatolia to Syria during the Iron Age relies on limited evidence, as the author admits. Nonetheless, the problem of the Iron Age linguistic expansion of Luwian as posed by Osborne exists, and in this book we hope to provide some historical and linguistic tools that will enable future closer insights into it.

In this book, we follow Osborne in employing the term *Syro-Anatolian* as a neutral equivalent of *Neo-Hittite* vel sim., but we intend it in a strictly geographic sense, to define the area broadly encompassed between the Kızılırmak River, the Euphrates, and the Levantine coast down to the upper Orontes. Similarly, terms like "Phoenicia(n)" or "Phrygia(n)" will be used as geographic shortcuts for linguistic, cultural or political features (mainly) encountered in, or thought to originate from the respective regions. On the other hand, the term *post-Hittite* here has a temporal meaning to emphasize developments occurring in the former domains of the Hittite Empire after its fall. For the sake of clarity, due to the specific subject matter of this book, the geographical principle governing the organization of individual sections in the following two chapters is based on the main linguistic features characterizing each area, without presuming those features to have any geopolitical implications.

The present chapter is devoted to the *Dark Age*, here referring to the period immediately following the crisis of the 12th century BCE, when the cessation of cuneiform scribal culture in Anatolia and Syria caused a temporary documentary gap, or *darkness*, in most areas of the former Hittite domain.[10] In these

9   D'Alfonso 2023; Matessi (in press); Matessi and Lovejoy (in press).
10   Giusfredi 2010:37.

terms, the *Dark Age* is entirely subsumed within the archaeological period *Early Iron Age* but is not equivalent to it, due to the high variability of the documentary gap from area to area. For example, the Early Iron Age at Aleppo (or Iron I in the Syrian periodization) also includes the 11th century, when Taita engraved his Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription in the Storm God temple. Therefore, in a book such as this, which draws its data mainly from the textual evidence, *Dark Age* seems more fitting as a meaningful periodization, although we will also use the term *Early Iron Age* when referring to archaeological data or periods.

2   The Political Reorganization of the Ancient Near East during the Dark Age

Although the events of the 12th century are partly known, there is little data regarding the reorganization of the political landscape that ultimately led to the new geopolitical situation of the Early Iron Age, especially for the earlier phases. In general, comparing the cultural, linguistic and political geographies of the late 13th century with those of the early 10th immediately shows that nearly every area had been affected by more or less radical changes. Nevertheless, the significance of these changes varied across the individual areas on which a scholar might choose to concentrate. In the next sections, we will briefly introduce the main transformations in the cultural and linguistic geography of the areas of interest for the present study.

2.1   *The Syrian Coast and the Levant*
During the 12th and 11th centuries, the central and southern Levant underwent significant change (Fig. 2.1), not only from the perspective of political history, but also in terms of cultural and linguistic geography. The area appears rather inhomogeneous, with the central portions of the Levant exhibiting some degree of continuity. Local cultural elements, including a Canaanite dialect close to Iron Age Phoenician (which emerges, albeit indirectly and in terms of interference with Akkadian, in the Amarna Letters, cf. Albright and Moran 1948), persisted from the Late Bronze Age, since at least the 15th century BCE, but possibly even earlier (Markoe 2000:14–23). Trading relationships were maintained through the maritime routes in the eastern Mediterranean, involving immediate connections with Cyprus that foreshadowed the strong Cypro-Phoenician contacts of the full Iron Age.[11]

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11   For the possibility of an involvement of Phoenicians in the Mesopotamian trading net-
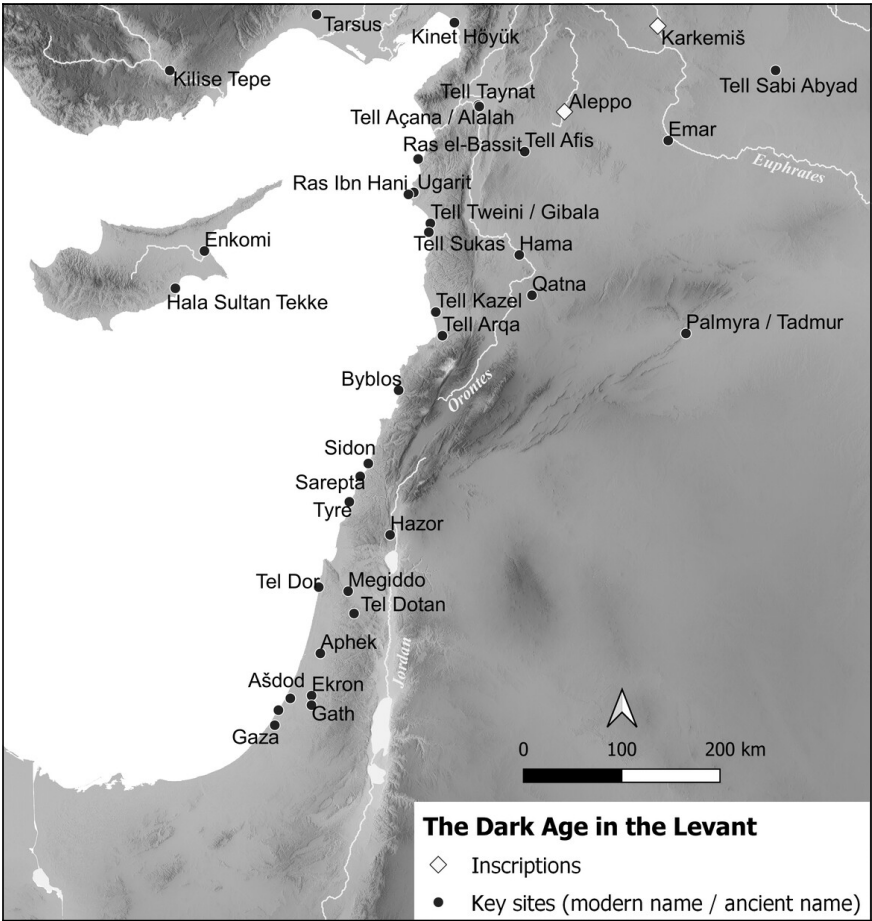
FIG. 2.1   Key sites and inscriptions in the Levantine coast during the Dark Age

It is not clear what exact role the Phoenician cities played in the crises that affected the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean during the 12th century BCE. Certainly, although they had clearly good relationships with Ugarit before its destruction (e.g., in the letter RS 18.31, Pardee 2002:93–94), they took advantage of its fall to expand their maritime activities; in a first phase during which the Tyro-Sidonian area appears to have been particularly active, Sidon prevailed over the rival city. It is conceivable that activity was more intense in the southern portions of Phoenician territory because the other centers were nearer to

works as well, see Markoe (2000:20). If true, this would grant Phoenicia the role of a gateway to eastern and western routes as early as the final centuries of the Bronze Age.

the crisis that invested the northern regions: although the stratigraphy of Byblos is largely unknown (and thus does not suggest the presence of a clear level of destruction), the site of Tell Sukas, some 130 km to the north on the Syrian coast, was clearly affected by the same catastrophic event that wiped Ugarit from the maps (Bretschneider and Van Lerberghe 2008:33).

Significantly, all the areas of northern Syria and central Anatolia that will show a penetration of the use of the Phoenician language by the time of the full Iron Age (Chapter 3) feature texts that employ the Tyro-Sidonian dialect, and no evidence indicates a significant expansion of the Phoenician cultural traits from south to north on the land.

Moving up toward the modern Bay of İskenderun, the coasts of northern Syria were arguably hardest hit by the raids of the so-called *Sea Peoples*. This highly problematic label will be better discussed in Chapter 10, due to its alleged Aegean characterization. However, regardless of any connection to the much-fabled groups of pirates devastating the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, it is certain that for the northern Syrian coast, the first decades of the 12th century were a time of military unrest and generalized social, political and economic crisis. The warlike events that occurred in Ugarit are well known—even though some parts of the story, as it is often told by historians, are the result of interpretation and reconstruction, and the dates of specific events should be taken *cum grano salis* (Knapp and Manning 2016). For our limited purpose of contextualizing the changes in the cultural geography of the areas under study, we will limit ourselves to an overview of the safest pieces of information we possess. The letters that the last known ruler, Ammurapi, exchanged with the king of Hatti, refer to famine and impending war. RS 18.38 (PRU V no. 60) is the Ugaritic copy of a reply sent by the king of Hatti (certainly Šuppiluliuma II), who informs his vassal and ally that he is unable to provide support because the Hittite kingdom is experiencing famine as well (cf. also RS 20.212, possibly also dating to the reign of Ammurapi, for references to a similar crisis affecting the land of Ura, most likely somewhere on the Cilician coast). In RS 18.38, the Hittite king also complains that Ammurapi failed to pay a visit to him in Hatti, which may indicate that the Syrian ruler was struggling with serious internal problems that prevented him from traveling. Of course, other explanations exist: RS 16.78 (Villoreaud 1957: no. 18) is a letter addressed by Ammurapi to Egypt, in which he addresses the pharaoh as his own master. Evidently, the last king of Ugarit was in a difficult position, and he sought assistance and protection from all possible directions, including Karkemiš and Cyprus. In RS 20.238, the ruler writes to the king of Alašiya, reporting the raids perpetrated by an unnamed enemy (ᴸᵁ*nakri*) and his inability to defend against them because his troops were deployed, for reasons left unmentioned in the letter, in Hatti, and his ships were stationed off

the land of Lukka. Furthermore, RS 94.2169 (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016:33–34) is a text from the so-called *House of Urtenu* in which the recipient is mentioned simply as LUGAL and the author as Ammurapi with no royal title. If the latter is indeed the king of Ugarit and not an otherwise unknown official, he appears to seek the help of a higher-ranking ruler, possibly King Talmi-Teššub of Karkemiš. Eventually, Ugarit fell, sometime around 1180 BCE, which may indicate that the requests for aid from the neighboring and traditionally more powerful kings were never answered. The city was never rebuilt, its archives went silent, and the local cuneiform writing system—one of the earliest proto-alphabetic ones developed in the Near East—ceased to be used, marking the end of the documentary history of the early West Semitic language known as Ugaritic.[12]

The city of Ugarit was gone, but the area featured other urban centers belonging to the small kingdom of which Ugarit had been the capital. For instance, the southernmost city of the kingdom, today the Tell Tweini archaeological site (probably corresponding to ancient Gibala), has Iron Age structures above the level of destruction of the early 12th century. Sites like Tell Tweini, or the previously mentioned Tell Sukas, not very far away, are mostly known archaeologically and left no archives. Consequently, a clear assessment of the nature of the political entity that followed the Bronze Age collapse at these two sites is difficult to attain. Most of the territory that formerly belonged to the kingdom of Ugarit will likely correspond to the coastal portions of the territory of later Aramaean or Syro-Anatolian kingdoms, such as Hama. As will emerge from the discussion of the geopolitical and cultural panorama of the full Iron Age, which will be described in Chapter 3, we know rather little of the maritime projection of the Aramaean and Luwian kingdoms; nonetheless, Hama appears to have been involved in Phoenician trades, as attested by the presence of weights inscribed with Phoenician characters and by the existence of a local measure evidently known to Phoenician traders: the Hamathite *shekel* (*šQL ḤMT*, see Heltzer 1995; Deutsch 2014).[13] This may indicate that, with the disappearance of Ugarit, the northern Levantine coast would become a peripheral gateway of the eastern Phoenician trading network; however, to dwell any

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12   The discussion on the classification of Amorrite is an old one, and several studies with different hypotheses have appeared since Goetze (1941). We follow Golinets (2021:187, with references) and refrain from describing Amorrite as Canaanite (as per Tropper 1994) or Aramoid.

13   It was not uncommon for a unit of weight to be named after a city, and in the Syrian world there appears to have been a proliferation of local measures, such as the Karkemiš *mina* or the Qarqar *shekel*. Cf. Deutsch 2014 for further discussion.

further on this hypothesis would be unproductive, given the lack of proper evidence. This would also provide indications that are highly significant for the main topic of the present work: although the Phoenicians were clearly a maritime power, they also maintained important relationships with the other peoples of the Levantine mainland, which explains why the Phoenician language was known, mentioned and occasionally used as a prestigious foreign language even in centers where there is no reason to assume a direct presence of Phoenician élites, such as in Karkemiš or Sam'al (see Chapter 3). The complex problem of the use of Phoenician in Cilicia, which likely involved Cypriot connections, will instead require a dedicated discussion, which will be offered below (Section 5) and in Chapter 4.

2.2 *Not Just the Sea: The Syro-Mesopotamian Inland and Its Political Aramaization*

Given the extraordinary importance of Ugarit during the final century of the Late Bronze Age, as well as the growing significance of sea routes at the transition between the Bronze and the Iron Age, it is no surprise that the coastal regions of the Levant have received considerable scholarly attention. Nevertheless, the same transition produced significant change inland as well (Fig. 2.2).

In Syria, the highly important site of Emar, a central political gateway during the Hittite domination at the end of the Bronze Age, collapsed. The date is uncertain (most likely, the end of Emar occurred at the beginning of the 12th century, as shown by the prosopographic analysis of the archives by Cohen and d'Alfonso 2009; cf. but also the discussion in Démare-Lafont and Fleming 2015), and in this case, the circumstances are almost completely unknown. Hurrian attacks are documented for the time of Pilsu-Dagan, one of the last rulers of the city, but we do not have conclusive evidence that the Hurrians were directly responsible for the final demise of Emar. Another potential cause may be the attacks by the mysterious *tarwu* peoples mentioned in AuOrS 1, 25:5,[14] but of course we know nothing about them. Moreover, it should be stressed that because they are mentioned not in an official letter, but rather in a private contract, we must be cautious and ought not give the same credence to this

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14   We wish to emphasize that the attempts at analyzing the meaning and the Semitic or Hurrian etymology (cf. Pentiuc 2001:180 for discussion) of this ethnonym (if it is indeed an ethnonym) are unconvincing at best. In particular, the Semitic etymologies are phonologically unconvincing, and the connection to Hurrian *tarwišša* proposed by Pentiuc (2001:180) is semantically far-fetched (especially because the word does not mean 'judge,' but rather a kind of financial deposit or a similar legal category). Also unlikely is the connection to *ta/urubi* cautiously proposed by Richter 2012 (s.v. TAR-PI), as it would require a reading *tar-pi*, which is graphemically improbable.
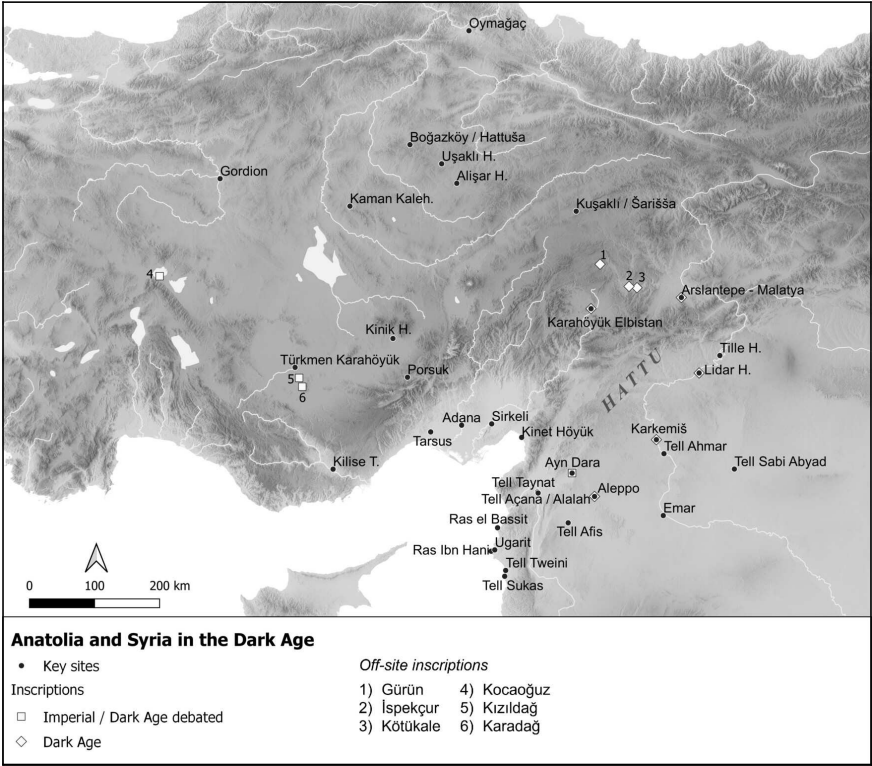
FIG. 2.2 Key sites and inscriptions in Anatolia and Syria during the Dark Age

information as we do with the evidence concerning the military crisis in Ugarit (which, as was just discussed, is much better documented). Alternatively, it has been speculated that the city was destroyed by nomadic peoples related to the Aramaeans,[15] and this conjecture may be correct; however, it should be pointed out that resorting to the *nomad threat* in a region where nomadic peoples and city-states had coexisted for millennia is akin to playing a wildcard.

If northern Syria underwent catastrophic change even far from the coast, the proper Mesopotamian regions appear, at a superficial glance, to be more stable (at least politically). Assyria maintained local power and enjoyed a first stage of regional projection with the campaigns of Tiglathpileser I in the final years of the 12th century—whereas Babylonia entered a long phase of political decline after the glorious years of Nebuchadnezzar I, but, in spite of the ill fortune of several short-lived dynasties (sometimes artificially labelled as such but com-

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15 Adamthwaite 2001 suggests identifying these nomads with the Aramaeans.

posed by rulers of different origins), managed to survive as a kingdom until it was assimilated into Assyria during the mid-8th century BCE.

However, the survival of kingdoms (and, in general, complex polities) does not necessarily indicate that the cultural demography of an area remained the same; this, in turn, has obvious implications also for the linguistic geography of Syro-Mesopotamia. As the cultural and linguistic scenario begins to change, reorganization of the upper political layer may or may not be immediate, and the formation of new élites will—usually—occur gradually in the *longue durée*. Thus, the main change that will emerge in the Syro-Mesopotamian area (i.e., the political emergence of the Aramaeans, which partially matches the growth of the Phoenician world on the coasts), will affect the political geography of Syria in a visible way, because the previous formations either did not survive or underwent significant changes. The cultural change will become apparent in Assyria a few centuries later, when imperial officials, and even some rulers (e.g., Tiglathpileser III/Pulu in the 8th century), will begin to appear with Aramaic names. The language slowly became increasingly widespread in the territories of the new empire, with significant phenomena of language contact and contamination that emerge in the Neo-Assyrian dialect of Akkadian.[16]

In general, the very concept of an Aramaic *culture* or *ethnicity* remains elusive—and yet, seeking to define the phenomenon is paramount to our work, because the Aramaeans of Syria would become linguistic neighbors of the Iron Age Luwians, with some cases of coexistence of the two languages and elements in Osborne's SACC (2021). Attempts to trace back the origin of the *Aram* element in both toponyms and anthroponyms during the Early, Middle and early Late Bronze Age, and to connect it to the presence of Aramaeans long before the times when the Aramaic language is attested, have been critically discussed by Lipiński (2000:26–35). Because most such attempts are highly uncertain or even formally or historically flawed, most of the works published in the past 20 years tended to concentrate on the history of the Aramaeans during the full Iron Age (see Chapter 3). Genealogical connections to the languages of the Bronze Age are not entirely clear.

As often highlighted in the literature (Lipiński 2000:35, with further references and discussion), the earliest references to the Aramaeans in Assyr-

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16   On the topic of the interference between Aramaic and Neo-Assyrian, see the article by Streck (2011), which, however, is limited to the analysis of loanwords. Cf. also Lang (2021:121–122) on indirect traces of Aramaic–Assyrian contact in texts from the Greek tradition, and Fales (2021) for a recent grammatical sketch and sociolinguistic discussion of Neo-Assyrian.

ian sources go back to the annals of King Tiglathpileser I,[17] toward the end of the 12th century BCE, where the term is usually paired with the designation *Ahlamu*, which, during the Middle Assyrian age, was employed to refer to what we assume to be nomadic peoples with no clear *ethnic* characterization.[18] Because the designation's origin and etymology[19] both remain elusive, the best way to briefly address the problem of the *Aramaization* of the Near East during the Dark Age is to shift toward simple synchronic historical geography, which emerges from the same sources in which the term is first used. In fact, occurrences of the adjective *armayyu-* are rather few in Tiglathpileser I, and, judging from the apparent mental map that is sketched in 2.28 and 4.31–34, there appears to be an opposition between the land called Ḫattu (which roughly corresponds with the area between Karkemiš and Malatya) and the land beyond the Euphrates, in which *Aramaeans*—or whatever the scribes of Tiglathpileser meant when they used this word—are found. These are associated with the region of Amurru (which included the city of Tadmar, i.e., Palmyra) and Sūhu, two ancient and traditional designations. To the south, a political boundary is mentioned, with the city of Rapiqu belonging to the territory of the kingdom of Babylon. These data appear to collocate Tiglathpileser's Aramaeans somewhere to the west of the Middle Euphrates (cf. Lipiński 2000:35–36); but at the same time, the frontiers already appear quite blurry. Until the empire began to expand toward the end of the 10th century BCE, there was a long phase after Tiglathpileser's reign during which the Assyrian sources are not generous in providing information about the political geography of central and northern Syria.

Of course, it is important to stress that we cannot and should not place too much trust in the consistency of the geographical designations contained in

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17   E.g., RIMA 2 A.0.87 3.30 (*ah-la-mì-i-*KUR.*ar-ma-ia*ᴹᴱˢ); 2.28 (*ah-la-mi-i-*KUR.*ar-ma-a-ia*ᴹᴱˢ), 4.34 (KUR.*ah-la-me-e-*KUR.*ar-ma-a-ia*ᴹᴱˢ).

18   To be more precise, the stand-alone term *Ahlamu* is still used by the Neo-Assyrian kings (e.g., Sargon II, e.g., 74 vi 47, referring to nondescript *peoples of the steppe* who supported the claim of a Babylonian rebel), but it was already employed by Shalmaneser I (RIMA 1 A.0.77.1:61) and Tukulti Ninurta I (RIMA 1 A.0.78.23:70) during the Late Bronze Age, to refer to peoples we cannot identify in precise terms. On the problem of Ahlamu ethnicity, one should cite the recent contribution by Edmonds (2019), and especially the cogent remarks by Valk (2021:618).

19   The toponym *Aramu* likely predates the use of the adjective as an ethnicon, with some very early occurrences that may have occurred in Old Babylonian times, and possibly even earlier during the third millennium BCE. The survival of the linguistic sign, however, does not imply that there was a relationship between these early occurrences and the historical peoples called Aramaeans starting with the Iron Age. For further discussion see Lipiński 2000:26–33; more recently Fales and Grassi 2016:16–19.

the ancient sources—a principle that is easily forgotten when dealing with obscure phases, for which even the smallest piece of documentary evidence may trigger over-enthusiastic attempts at identifications and reconstructions. This means that the fact that Tiglathpileser refers to Amurru as a specific political entity he raided does not imply that such a formation was in fact still the kingdom with the same name that existed during the final Bronze Age. Traditional designations easily survive in the archives of the cuneiform cultures, as evidenced by the very toponym *Hattu*, which was still employed by the Iron Age Assyrians to refer to areas entirely different from the former Hittite kingdom, even though the term appears to have completely disappeared from the political lexicon of the Iron Age Luwian sources.[20] As a consequence, there is no need to consider the reign of Tiglathpileser as coinciding with a phase pre-dating the political reorganization of Syria and the Levant, and there is no way to discern the stage of *Aramaization*. It is worth noting a reference to the so-called *houses* (ÉᴹᴱŠ) of the land of Aram in a fragmentary Assyrian chronicle,[21] which may hint at the subdivision of the Aramaean groups into clans or tribes; once again, however, some caution is in order, because the text was likely composed much later than the age it refers to and it may have anachronistically projected back in time a situation typical of the time in which it was written.

In general, in light of the sparse information we possess, it appears wise to use caution when characterizing the origin of the Aramaic world. The evidence for anthroponyms or toponyms containing the *Aram* element is limited and often questionable; nonetheless, it seems more likely that the Proto-Aramaic and Aramaic-speaking peoples already inhabited Syria during the Bronze Age, and that they later emerged as the main orchestrators of political reorganization in the Levant during the Dark Age.

3   The Fall of Hatti and Its Aftermath in Central Anatolia

After nearly half a millennium as the main seat of Hittite power, the city of Hattuša was abandoned at the onset of the 12th century BCE and forever lost

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20   Cf. the discussion in Bryce (2012:49–52). We may add that in later phases of the Assyrian documentation (well after Syria was assimilated into the Empire), the term *Hattu* still survived, referring to the regions of the Tabal (RINAP 4 1 iii 49; RINAP 4 4 i 7), which suggests that this exonymic designation referred to any foreign or unruly portions of eastern Anatolia and Syro-Anatolia; thus, the exact geographical referent changed over time.
21   Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 4 (TCS 5, 189–190 = AfO 17, 384–385).

any centrality in the Anatolian political and cultural landscape. Although the exact date of the city's demise cannot be established with any confidence, it is conventionally set around 1190 BCE, or perhaps some years later upon cross-checking heterogeneous sources. Furthermore, the reasons for Hattuša's abandonment defy straightforward explanation, but this event certainly owed to multiple converging factors, including climatic deterioration, natural disasters, economic decay, and a decline in the capacity of central institutions to cope with territorial instability across the vast Hittite Empire.[22] In this negative conjuncture, the chronic factional strife that had long beleaguered the Hittite ruling family became a serious liability, especially after the establishment of a rival power base at Tarhuntašša endowed to a primary branch of the royal family.[23]

In his inscriptions, Pharaoh Ramses III includes Hatti among the countries invaded by the Sea Peoples. Older views that uncritically ascribed historical merit to this account have since been superseded, and seaborne population movements of the late second millennium BCE are now understood as phenomena whose impact was limited to the Mediterranean's coastal areas. More generally, archaeological evaluations now tend to rule out foreign invasions from among the ultimate causes of Hattuša's downfall. The ruins of official buildings are not covered by a uniform destruction layer suggestive of a violent takeover, whereas fires that seemingly affected individual buildings remain hitherto undated—and, in any case, do not appear to stem from a single catastrophic event. The burnt buildings were stripped of any furniture, down to the last ceramic vessel—yet no signs of urban warfare, such as weapons or the bodies of fallen victims, were found. The evidence would support a spontaneous abandonment of Hattuša by the inhabitants rather than a sudden assault by enemy forces.[24] In fact, the city had already been experiencing a slow urban decline for some decades before its final downfall. Several quarters and religious buildings were deserted by the early 13th century BCE, possibly in connection with Muwattalli II's short-lived relocation of the court to Tarhuntašša.[25]

So far, only a handful of cuneiform texts attributed to Šuppiluliuma II have been identified in the archives of Hattuša—and virtually none dating to his predecessor, Arnuwanda III. This peculiar chronological distribution is generally interpreted as evidence that the court and administrative apparatus

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22 De Martino 2018:23–24. On the crisis of the 12th century in an eastern Mediterranean perspective, see Knapp and Manning 2016.
23 Matessi 2025.
24 Seeher 2001.
25 Schachner 2020.

was evacuated from the capital during its final days, carrying with them all tablets deemed important for current affairs.[26] It is matter of speculation as to where the archives might have been relocated in this scenario, Tarhuntašša or Karkemiš seeming the two most viable possibilities. Wherever their final destination, the evacuation of Hittite scriptoria from Hattuša and elsewhere marked, in effect, the permanent demise of cuneiform writing traditions in central Anatolia.

After the institutions had quit the city, a residual population remained in Hattuša and continued, for a short while, to use the wheel-made plain ceramic wares typical of the Hittite period. Later in the 12th century, and through multiple subsequent phases up to the 10th century, new layers of modest dwellings and associated installations emerged on the ridges of Büyükkaya, on the northwestern tip of the former urban layout, while squatters occupied the abandoned ruins in other areas of the city. In the final phase of the Early Iron Age, habitation at Büyükkaya was replaced by a metalworking area.[27] Ceramic inventories associated with these phases mark a dramatic rupture from the Hittite repertoire, chiefly evident in the almost complete cessation of wheel-made manufacture accompanied by the appearance of new shapes and wares. The most remarkable novelty was the introduction of geometric red-painted decoration applied to handmade vessels, having close parallels in the Pontic region to the north of Boğazköy.[28] Moreover, a strikingly similar repertoire of red-painted decoration, but on wheel-made vessels, appeared in approximately the same region and has now been dated to the Late Bronze Age based on stratified finds from Oymağaç Höyük (the site of Hittite Nerik) near Merzifon.[29] Given this peculiar spatial distribution, carriers of this red-painted ceramic horizon have often been identified with the Kaška attested by Hittite sources to have inhabited northern Anatolia.[30] According to Hittite sources, the Kaška imposed constant pressure on Hattuša from the late 15th century onward, so it is possible that some of them eventually resettled the city after it had fallen into ruins.[31] However, we should bear in mind that red-painted ceramics constitute only a small percentage of the total Early Iron Age assemblage at Boğazköy. An alternative hypothesis is that, a few generations after the centralized patronage over pottery industry was gone, the remaining population of Boğazköy carried

26   Bemporad 2006:74; Klinger 2015.
27   Seeher 2018.
28   Genz 2004.
29   Mielke 2022.
30   But see Mielke 2022:49–51 for a more cautious assessment, with previous literature.
31   Seeher 2010.

on its own production under the influence of neighboring traditions that had hitherto resisted Hittite cultural pressure.[32]

Developments toward simpler forms of social organization similar to those observed at Hattuša affected other key Hittite sites in the Kızılırmak area (Fig. 2.2). The acropolis of Kuşaklı Höyük, Hittite Šarišša, was gradually abandoned toward the late 13th century BCE and would not be resettled until sometime before the 8th century BCE. Local paleoenvironmental records may nonetheless suggest the existence of an Early Iron Age occupation (albeit on a much-reduced scale) in the surrounding plateau.[33] The main representative building of the Hittite period so far uncovered at Uşaklı Höyük experienced a violent conflagration after being abandoned during an event tentatively dated to the late 13th century on account of ceramic and 14C evidence.[34] The next architectonic level on the site dates to the Middle Iron Age, but some sporadic finds of handmade Early Iron Age wares, including some red-painted specimens, may suggest the existence of an intermediate settlement starting from no later than the 11th century.[35] Recent data from Çadır Höyük would point to a more marked cultural continuity, notwithstanding a reorientation in the local agropastoral production from a regional scale—possibly subservient to the Hittite administration—to a more cantonal subsistence economy.[36]

Regions west of the Kızılırmak show different patterns of transformation after the demise of Hittite imperial hegemony. Throughout the Late Bronze Age, Gordion/Yassıhöyük was within the sphere of Hittite cultural influence, best signaled by the standard Hittite repertoire of wheel-made plain wares and sealings of Hittite officials.[37] This phase (YHSS 8) ended with no sign of major upheaval around the mid-12th century BCE—that is, perhaps decades after the abandonment of Hattuša.[38] Reoccupation of the site with modest domestic structures appears to have resumed shortly thereafter, but it was characterized by a radical change in the material culture. An earlier phase of the Early Iron Age (YHSS 7B), lasting through the mid-11th century, attests to a technological transition toward handmade production of ceramics fired in an oxygen-reduced atmosphere, which gave a characteristic gray color range to surfaces and clays. In the subsequent phase (YHSS 7A), apparently lasting through the

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32   Genz 2003.
33   Dörfler et al. 2000; Müller-Karpe 2017:158.
34   D'Agostino 2020; Orsi 2020.
35   Orsi 2020.
36   Ross et al. 2019.
37   Kealhofer et al. 2022:86–135.
38   Kealhofer et al. 2019.

end of the 10th century, wheel-made ware reappears in a class of buff-colored vessels, attested in a repertoire of shapes anticipating Middle Iron Age traditions.[39] This phase also yields the remains of a modest fortification system, likely built during the final decades of the 10th century.[40] Such discontinuities in Early Iron Age ceramics are also paralleled by similar departures from Late Bronze Age traditions in house plans and building techniques. Because of these sudden changes, which affected virtually all aspects of material culture, scholars consider that at some point during the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition, Gordion was settled by a group of immigrants whose origins have been traced in the Balkans and Thrace.[41] In these regions, horizons of handmade reduction wares similar to those found at Early Iron Age Gordion are indeed attested already in the late second millennium BCE, although direct comparisons are limited to a few features.[42] In any case, a Balkan migration framework does not contradict what we know about Phrygian, the language attested at Gordion and its environs some centuries later, for which linguistic connections with the Balkans—and, more specifically, Greek—now appear well established (Chapter 8). In the late 8th century BCE, letters and royal inscriptions of Sargon II designated Phrygia with the term *Muški* (see Chapter 3); however, in Middle Assyrian documents of the 12th and 11th centuries, the same term appears associated with the region of Katmuhu, located in eastern Anatolia around the Tur Abdin mountains. The toponym *Muški* (rendered *Mu/as*(*a*)*ka*), also appears in a number of Iron Age hieroglyphic inscriptions, ranging from Karkemiš to the southern Anatolian plateau. It is unclear how all of these sparse references might fit into a coherent geographical picture—an issue further complicated by the uncertain historical contextualization of some of the hieroglyphic attestations (see below and in Chapter 3). In any case, scholars now agree that *Muški* or the like could hardly designate one and the same polity and/or people in all its attestations, and certainly the Middle Assyrian mentions of Muški referred to something that nothing had to do with the Phrygians of northwest Anatolia.[43]

As we have seen, wheel-made production of ceramics, a hallmark of the Hittite period, almost disappeared from Early Iron Age horizons of the northern Kızılırmak area, and did not resume until the Middle Iron Age. A less strik-

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39   Henrickson 1993.

40   Kealhofer et al. 2022:175–176.

41   Voigt and Henrickson 2000; Voigt 2011:1077.

42   Sams 1988; Voigt and Henrickson 2000.

43   Wittke 2004; Weeden 2023:929–930; Santini forthcoming. For a different interpretation, see Kopanias 2015.

ing discontinuity is evident at Kaman Kalehöyük, on the middle Kızılırmak, where wheel-throwing of pots apparently continued or was reappraised in the 11th century. Stylistic traditions associated with this production are also very different from northern ones. They seem to belong, instead, to southern wheel-made horizons with bichrome band painted decoration, featuring at Porsuk and in survey collections from the surrounding region.[44] The very strata yielding these assemblages at Kaman Kalehöyük also feature the remains of fortification walls, presumably indicating that the local population either maintained or quickly resumed some forms of complex social organization after the Hittite regional administration had left.

Recent data in part confirm the general impression that social reorganization was relatively precocious in the southern plateau in the aftermath of the Hittite Empire. Citadel walls broadly coeval to those discovered at Kaman Kalehöyük (11th century BCE) have been brought to light in the last decade at Niğde-Kınık Höyük, ca. 50 km to the north of Porsuk.[45] Layers associated with these walls yielded the remains of two imposing underground silos intended for large-scale grain storage, which remained in use until the late 10th century BCE.[46] Fortifications and administrative facilities would evidence a locally rapid reorganization of a complex economic system—one that prioritized the centralized accumulation of staple resources—in the early post-Hittite period.[47] Notably, the Kınık Höyük silos, elliptical in shape, were abutting the inner side of the citadel walls, thus following a urban layout paralleled centuries earlier at Hattuša, Kuşaklı-Šarišša and other centers of Hittite Anatolia.[48] The citadel wall, on the other hand, consisting of a stone socle with rubble filling and a mudbrick superstructure, shows a construction technique different from the casemate system typical of previous Hittite fortifications elsewhere, but reprises local Late Bronze Age traditions attested in earlier structures at Kınık Höyük itself as well as at nearby Porsuk.[49] The evidence of Kınık Höyük, however, shows that these developments do not necessarily indicate a direct continuity from the Late Bronze Age. In fact, no citadel wall or other large-scale public structure in use during the 12th century BCE has been so far exposed on the site. On the other hand, deposits beneath the structure of

44   Dupré 1983:57–75; Matsumura 2008; Matsumura and Omori 2010; Mora and d'Alfonso 2012.

45   Dated by radiocarbon determinations and contextual stratigraphic data; see d'Alfonso et al. 2019–2020:35–43.

46   Castellano 2018.

47   D'Alfonso 2020a.

48   Castellano 2018.

49   Mantovan and d'Alfonso 2020.

the 11th century wall yielded a small assemblage of plain ceramic wares that, alongside examples continuing the Late Bronze Age wheel-made repertoire, also include a large proportion of handmade vessels crafted in a new set of shapes.[50]

Unfortunately, our complete lack of knowledge of 12th century developments in the southern plateau outside Kınık precludes an empirical evaluation of the above evidence within a broader picture. In principle, one would be tempted to see the signs of economic and cultural resilience visible in the 11th century BCE in connection with the 8th century local re-emergence of Hieroglyphic Luwian language and script and Hittite artistic traditions, in the region of Tuwana and the other polities forming the political constellation known by the Assyrians as *Tabal* (see Chapter 3). Summers (2017) recently advanced an opposing view, proposing that all forms of monumentality and complex urban organization typical of Tabal—and, most importantly, the use of Hieroglyphic Luwian—did not result from indigenous developments, but instead were reintroduced from Syria in the wake of the Assyrian expansion of the 9th and 8th centuries BCE. The recent data from Kınık Höyük and the new Gordion chronology, which attests to the emergence of an articulated urban layout and sophisticated artistic traditions already in the early 9th century (Chapter 3), would support the *indigenist* hypothesis and contradict Summers's model of *secondary diffusion* (at least as far as the dynamics of social organization are concerned).[51] Moreover, there is very little evidence of close contacts between central Anatolia and Syria during the Iron Age; on the contrary, the spatial patterning of material proxies such as ceramics, as well as the linguistic make-up of Syro-Anatolia in the Middle Iron Age, shows that cultural features in the two areas developed along different trajectories. Indeed, their only shared traits are those that could have been independently inherited from the Hittite period on both sides of the Taurus range.[52]

The mechanisms that drove the Iron Age reappearance of Hieroglyphic Luwian in central Anatolia—after a hiatus of some four centuries—remain obscure. Generally speaking, we cannot discount the possibility of transmission from the Elbistan-Malatya area, where hieroglyphic traditions have been attested since the very early post-Hittite period (see below, section 4.1). Contacts between central Anatolia and Malatya continued throughout the Iron Age and are attested by the material record.[53] Moreover, Malatya was a reg-

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50   D'Alfonso et al. 2019–2020:55–63.
51   D'Alfonso et al. 2019–2020:33–34.
52   Matessi (in press); Matessi and Lovejoy (in press).
53   Manuelli 2013.

ular station for Assyrian armies en route to Tabal.[54] Otherwise, knowledge of hieroglyphics may have survived the Dark Age, still undetected somewhere in central Anatolia. The hypothesis of a Tabalian scribal tradition would in fact explain the emergence of unique styles, such as those of TOPADA and KULULU, in the 9th and 8th centuries.[55]

Any assessment of the survival of hieroglyphic script in central Anatolia must also consider the questions surrounding a group of hieroglyphic inscriptions on rocks scattered across the southern Anatolian plateau, which are attributed to a ruler named Hartapu. Six inscriptions of this subcorpus, KIZILDAĞ 1–4 and KARADAĞ 1–2, were discovered in the early 20th century CE on the eponymous paleo-volcanoes, clustered in the modern province of Karaman. The inscription of BURUNKAYA, discovered in 1971, is isolated from the others by its location in a rock cliff near present-day Aksaray, ca. 140 km to the northeast of the Kızıldağ-Karadağ cluster.[56] All these inscriptions are dedicated by an individual named Hartapu (*há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa*),[57] who claims the titles *Great King* and *Hero*. In three instances of this group, Hartapu also declares his filiation from a Mursili, likewise styled as *Great King* and *Hero* (KIZILDAĞ 3–4, BURUNKAYA). The fragmentary incipit of KIZILDAĞ 5 bears only the name and titulary of Mursili, who is presumably the author of the inscription. The predominant style and paleography of this group are most similar to those of imperial Hittite hieroglyphic compositions, such as YALBURT and EMİRGAZİ. The *Great King* titulary, enclosing the name of Hartapu in a royal aedicula (both with and without the winged sun), also harks back to imperial Hittite traditions, and the name of Hartapu's father has clear links to the Hittite dynasty. On the other hand, there seems to be no way to fit Hartapu in the Hittite royal sequence. Therefore, most scholars have long maintained that this personage was a ruler, perhaps even a descendant of Urhi-Teššub/Muršili III, who carved out his own rump state in the southern plateau in the early 12th century BCE.[58] In this context, it has also been proposed that Hartapu inherited the kingdom

54   Lovejoy and Matessi 2023.

55   D'Alfonso et al. 2020:52–54. On the *Kululu style*, see CHLI I:430. See also d'Alfonso 2019, who raises the dating of TOPADA to the late 10th–early 9th century BCE, which would reduce the Dark Age gap to about two centuries. Cf. now also the new discussion by Hawkins in CHLI III:298.

56   CHLI I:433–442.

57   KIZILDAĞ 3 has the variant spelling of the name *há+ra/i-tá*-L. 430(*pú*)-*sa*, for which see CHLI I:439–440. On the writing of Hartapu's name in BUYRUNKAYA, see CHLI I:438 and the updated discussion in CHLI III:338.

58   E.g., d'Alfonso 2014, with references to previous literature.

of Tarhuntašša, likely based in the Konya plain, not far from the main cluster of Hartapu inscriptions.[59]

A serious obstacle to this early dating of Hartapu has always been his inscription KIZILDAĞ 1, bearing only the aedicula excised in relief in close connection with the incised engraving of a seated royal figure, depicted in the Assyrianizing style typical of Syro-Anatolian art of the 9th–8th centuries BCE.[60] Various solutions were proposed to explain this apparent discrepancy within a 12th century dating of Hartapu, but most scholars eventually came to agree that the relief was a later addition to the inscription. The debate surrounding Hartapu took a definitive turn in 2019, when surveys conducted in and around the large site of Türkmen-Karahöyük (ca. 13 km to the north of Kızıldağ) recovered a stone block with a hieroglyphic inscription recounting the deeds of Hartapu/Kartapu Great King (TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1).[61] In fact, the inscription is a combination of at least two epigraphs that were likely engraved in two different stages. The first paragraph, half-excised in relief, reports the conquest of the country of Mus(a)ka (*mu-sà-ka*) by the Great King son of Mursili Hartapu, whose name is spelled here as *Kartapu* (*ka+ra/i-tá-pu-sa*).[62] The historical narrative continues, detailing further events in two more paragraphs that have been incised and which use the more usual *ha*-spelling of the ruler's name (*há +ra/i-tá-pú*), enclosed in the royal aedicula.

Notwithstanding the inconsistent name spellings, the editors of TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 are certain that this inscription refers to the same person—who, in light of his titles and filiation, should also be identified with the author of the other inscriptions of Hartapu's corpus. However, the editors also argued in favor of attributing the composition of TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 to the 8th century BCE, thus lowering the chronology of Hartapu's reign by at least four centuries. Despite a general archaizing style, the text appears to show—in both the excised and incised parts—a number of sign variants that are not attested before the Middle Iron Age, such as the hooked version of L. 439=*wa/i*.[63] Moreover, the country of Mus(a)ka—allegedly conquered by Hartapu/Kartapu, presumably the same as the Assyrian Muški—is not attested as a political player active in central Anatolia before the campaigns of Sargon II against Mita

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59   E.g., Singer 2006. For the identification of Tarhuntašša with the mound of Türkmen Kara-
      höyük, see Massa et al. 2020:64–66. *Contra* Hawkins and Weeden 2021:384–387.

60   D'Alfonso and Pedrinazzi 2021; Massa and Osborne 2022.

61   Finding and archaeological context: Massa et al. 2020; Osborne et al. 2020. Edition:
      Goedegebuure et al. 2020.

62   MAGNUS.REX *ka+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* HEROS URBS-*li-si-sa* FILIUS *mu-sá-ka* (REGIO).

63   D'Alfonso and Payne 2016.

(Midas, see Chapter 3); yet, given the location of TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, Mus(a)ka could hardly be referring to the eastern Anatolian namesake appearing in Middle Assyrian sources of the 12th–11th centuries. The editors of TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 also draw a parallel with KIZILDAĞ 4 §2c, arguing that this passage, previously read "he conquered the land of Maša forever,"[64] indeed refers to the same event as the conquest of Mus(a)ka mentioned in TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, §1. An 8th century dating of Hartapu would finally resolve the problems raised by KIZILDAĞ 1, leading to the conclusion that the inscription was carved at the same time as the figurative relief on its side, as part of a coherent composition.

As often happens in similar cases, the interpretations proposed by the scholars who first studied the new inscription were met with some criticism. Noting the scarce attention given by the first editors to the composite aspect of the inscription, Adiego (2021) argues that the part in relief was carved out later, modifying a previous inscription constituted by the incised part. This would explain the different spellings of Hartapu's name between the two parts as well as the conspicuous differences in execution and style (for example, the lack of the royal aedicula in the excised incipit as opposed to its presence in the second, incised, paragraph). Accordingly, Adiego ascribes only the relief part of the inscription to the 8th century, and maintains the more traditional 12th century date for the incised part. However, this interpretation does not consider the clear diagnostics for a late date that are present in the incised part, namely the abovementioned L. 439=*wa/i*.

The chronological revision encouraged by TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 clashes with the consistent imperial Hittite sign repertoire shown by Hartapu's other inscriptions. Leaving aside shorter examples in the corpus, the most prominent obstacle for a generalized attribution of Hartapu's reign to the 8th century is represented by KIZILDAĞ 4, an inscription of length comparable to TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 but featuring only archaic signs, with close parallels in YALBURT and SÜDBURG. Drawing on this case, Hawkins and Weeden (2021) closely revised the paleography of the entire Hartapu's corpus and on this basis they envisaged the existence of two Hartapu. An earlier ruler with this name (Hartapu I) would have reigned in the 12th century, dedicating KIZILDAĞ 4 and the other archaic-looking inscriptions, namely KARADAĞ 1–2. The later Hartapu (II) would have ruled in the 8th century BCE, being the author of TÜRKMEN-

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64   *ma-sà* (REGIO) AQUILA-*na mu-wa-ta* (CHLI I:338–441 after Poetto 1998) now read *mu-sà-ka-na* (REGIO) *mu-wa-ta*, as first proposed by Meriggi 1965:314 (cf. CHLI III:168). For a different perspective, still retaining the reading Maša in KIZILDAĞ 4 notwithstanding TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, see Oreshko 2020.

KARAHÖYÜK 1, KIZILDAĞ 1–3 and BURUNKAYA. In this case, Hawkins and Wee-
den observe, KIZILDAĞ 4 would attest a land of Mus(a)ka/Muški in central Ana-
tolia already in the 12th century BCE, but without necessarily referring to a well-
defined geopolitical entity. Accordingly, in the first paragraph of TÜRKMEN-
KARAHÖYÜK 1, Hartapu II would have commemorated the deeds of his revered
predecessor and namesake, modelling his account upon KIZILDAĞ 4. While
solving the paleographic puzzle, the reconstruction proposed by Hawkins and
Weeden imposes some historical twists that, although not implausible, can
hardly be supported on independent bases.[65] After all, on account of the con-
textual evidence, we should not discount the possibility that KIZILDAĞ 4 was
in fact a Middle Iron Age archaizing text executed well enough to resist modern
formal attempts to lower its date.[66] In summary, the question of the number of
Hartapu and the relative dating of their reigns seems far from finding a con-
clusive solution. For what matters here, we maintain the 8th century date for
TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 and BURUNKAYA based on Hawkins and Weeden's
observations, while leaving open the chronological ascription of the other rep-
resentatives of the Hartapu's corpus.

4   Luwian Syro-Anatolia

4.1   The Euphrates Area: Karkemiš and Malatya in the 12th and 11th
            Centuries BCE

During the late 14th and 13th centuries BCE, the city of Karkemiš was the seat
of Hittite viceroys, whose dynastic line descended directly from the Great King
Suppiluliuma I (Fig. 2.2). After their installation, the dynasts of Karkemiš, con-
sistently designated as *kings* throughout the imperial phase, attained a promi-
nent position within the Hittite power network, exerting a role of supervisors
over Hittite dependencies in Syria on behalf of the Great Kings residing at Hat-
tuša.[67]

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65   For a discussion, see the response to Hawkins and Weeden's proposal by Massa and
      Osborne 2022.
66   It is worth mentioning that KIZILDAĞ 4 is engraved on a rock surface joining a stepped
      altar, forming with it a coherent composition having close parallels in Phrygian monu-
      ments generally dated no earlier than the 9th century BCE (Berndt-Ersöz 2006:134–137).
      D'Alfonso 2020b:185–186 considers unlikely that the stepped monument was carved after
      the inscription, but, still maintaining the traditional date of KIZILDAĞ 4 to the 12th cen-
      tury, uses this evidence to raise the chronology of the stepped altar tradition altogether.
      Now, after the discovery of TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, just lowering the date of KIZILDAĞ
      4 might represent a more economical solution: see Massa and Osborne 2022:94–96.
67   De Martino 2014; Mora 2014.

In the famous inscription of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, Karkemiš appears among the countries defeated by the Sea Peoples.[68] However, contrary to this claim, and unlike most other regions of the eastern Mediterranean, Karkemiš and its hinterland appears to have been only marginally affected by the upheavals of the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition. Excavations on the site, carried out first by the British Museum (1911–1914) and reappraised about a century later under the ongoing direction of Marchetti (since 2011), have so far revealed no trace of destruction at the end of the Late Bronze Age.[69] On the contrary, the most recent findings show that, despite some renovations, the general layout of the main public buildings and the fortifications remained in place throughout the Early Iron Age. Material culture, chiefly ceramic frameworks, also continued to develop with no stark ruptures from the Late Bronze Age repertoire.[70] Most importantly, Karkemiš did not yield any sherd of LH IIIC nor associated Aegaeanizing features that elsewhere in the vicinity represent the main diagnostic of material cultural change in the terminal Late Bronze Age and earliest Iron Age phases. Iconographic motifs of clear imperial Hittite tradition, accompanied by the continued, and exclusive, use of Hieroglyphic Luwian in monumental programs and seals through the Early and Middle Iron Ages complete the picture of Karkemiš as an archetypal Syro-Anatolian state strongly tied to its Hittite heritage.[71]

General cultural data resonates with the still scanty, but growing, historical information available for the period. The last king of Karkemiš known to have ruled under formal Hittite hegemony was Talmi-Teššub, who signed a treaty with Šuppiluliuma II (CTH 122).[72] The main obstacle to a solid historical reconstruction of the following phases at Karkemiš is that this site yielded virtually no epigraphic evidence until the early 10th century.[73] Fortunately, finds from other sites, in addition to information from external sources (primarily Assyrian) provide material for at least a tentative—albeit in many cases controversial—reconstruction.

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68 Sandars 1987:119–120.
69 For the old excavations, see Hogarth 1914, Woolley 1921, Woolley & Barnett 1952. See also Benati 2014 and di Cristina 2014 for a recent re-evaluation. For an updated summary of Marchetti's excavations, see Marchetti 2019–2020.
70 Giacosa in Marchetti 2019–2020:274–277.
71 Among the several studies devoted to monumentality at Karkemiš and its Hittite imperial models, see Pucci 2008; Gilibert 2011 and Aro 2013.
72 Lastly, Beckman 2019:36–40.
73 Peker 2016:14–17. Numerous sealings stylistically dating to the late 13th–early 12th century were found during the 2019 campaign, but none is reported as having royal seal impressions: see Peker 2023.

A number of bullae discovered in the late 1980s at Lidar Höyük bear the impressions of a seal fashioned in a Hittite imperial style belonging to a king of Karkemiš named Kuzi-Teššub, claiming to be son and successor of Talmi-Teššub. There is little doubt, therefore, that this Kuzi-Teššub was a direct descendant of the viceroys of Karkemiš and that he ruled the country in years roughly coterminous with the collapse of the Hittite Empire and likely for some time after this event.[74] The name Kuzi-Teššub is not attested at Karkemiš itself, but in the genealogies of Malizean rulers of the early 11th century it appears accompanied by the Hieroglyphic Luwian title of Great King, a prerogative that during the Hittite imperial phase was reserved to the royal house of Hattuša.[75] Here the widespread view, that will soon be discussed more into detail, is that in the aftermath of the Hittite Empire, Kuzi-Teššub of Karkemiš gained some form of control over the Euphrates region up to Malatya, thus taking the hegemonic title of Great King, or at least being later remembered as such.[76] A political inheritance and transfer of related symbols from Hattuša to Karkemiš in the post-Hittite period is more indirectly reflected in Neo-Assyrian sources, where Karkemiš and neighboring territories are often called the "land of Hatti," thus applying to Euphratic Syria a geographic designation used in the second millennium to indicate central Anatolia.[77]

The virtual lack of epigraphic material from Karkemiš through to the early 10th century precludes confident reconstruction of the local dynastic sequence after Kuzi-Teššub and from assessing how far his line of succession may have persisted. The matter is further complicated by the above-mentioned Malizean evidence, where Kuzi-Teššub features as the forefather of a local line of *Country Lords* (REGIO.DOMINUS), with no apparent involvement of Karkemiš (see below). A growing consensus would now include among the sources on post-Hittite Karkemiš the famous Ankara Silver Bowl. This unprovenanced artefact, currently stored at the Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, bears a

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74   Hawkins 1988.

75   During the Hittite period, competing claims of Great Kingship within the Hittite domain were certainly raised by Kuruntiya of Tarhuntašša in his Hatip relief and in some sealings found at Hattuša: see Singer 1996; Mora 2003; Giorgieri and Mora 2010:143–145; Matessi 2025:165–175. On the possible evidence of a Great King at Mira, in western Anatolia, see Hawkins 1998:20, and Peschlow-Bindokat and Herbordt 2001. For the recent revision of the evidence relating to a Hartapu Great King in south-central Anatolia, see above, section 3.

76   E.g., Bryce 2012:83–85.

77   On the notion of *land of Hatti* in the Iron Age, see d'Alfonso 2012:176, with further references. On the changing geographic significance of the term during Neo Assyrian times, see Bagg 2011:19–40. The genesis and possible meaning(s) of the toponym *Hattu* in the second millennium BCE have been treated in Volume 1, especially Chapters 4 and 5.

short inscription mentioning in a dating formula the conquest of the country of Tarwiza by a [Tu]thaliya Labarna.[78] Previous proposals dated this inscription to the late 15th century based on the identification of Tarwiza with the western Anatolian Tarwiša, targeted by the campaigns of Tuthaliya I. However, this analysis is now superseded by compelling paleographic and orthographic considerations, that would conclusively assign the inscription to the 12th century BCE.[79] Connections with Karkemiš would bear on the observation that one of the main Karkemišean deities, Karkuha, very rarely attested elsewhere, appears as a theophoric element in the name Mazi-Karkuha, another personage mentioned in the bowl, titled a *King*.[80] Notwithstanding these widely accepted interpretations, an unresolved question concerns the identity of the rulers Tuthaliya Labarna and Mazi-Karhuha.[81] A king named Mazi-Karhuha is not attested outside the Silver Bowl, and, if actually a king of Karkemiš, he could fit virtually anywhere among the successors of Kuzi-Teššub in the 12th century. An alternative view, perhaps more attractive, would see Tuthaliya Labarna as a king of Karkemiš, perhaps identical to the Great King Tuthaliya mentioned in the fragmentary inscription KARKAMIŠ 16c, or a predecessor thereof.[82] If so, *labarna* would be yet another perquisite of the royal house of Hattuša transferred to Karkemiš in the early post-Hittite period. It must be stressed, however, that no ruler of Karkemiš otherwise attested ever claimed this title.

More secure evidence about a Karkemišean ruler derives from Assyrian royal inscriptions dating to around 1100 BCE. In those years, Tiglathpileser I reinvigorated Assyrian expansionist policies to the west of the Euphrates, leading campaigns against Karkemiš and receiving thereupon a tribute from Ini-Teššub, defined as king of the *land of Hatti* (e.g., RIMA 2 A.0.87.10:33–35). It is generally argued that Hatti in this particular passage stands as a geographic synonym of

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78 Hawkins 1997, 2005.

79 On the related debate, see Mora 2007, Durnford 2010, Simon 2009, Giusfredi 2013, and Payne 2015:84–98. See also Hawkins and Weeden 2016:10.

80 Other arguments pointing in this direction are the writing of the sign *KAR* (L. 315), which, outside Karkemiš, is attested only at Tell Ahmar (TELL AHMAR 6). Giusfredi 2013; Payne 2015:93–94, and references to previous literature therein. But see Simon 2009:254 for a different interpretation.

81 A third individual, also unidentified, appears in the inscription with the name Asmaya and the obscure title REGIO.*HATTI* VIR$_2$. Conflicting interpretations have been proposed by Mora (2007:518) and Simon (2009:259). Giusfredi (2013:672–673) argues for an alternative reading of the title as REGIO.DOMINUS, 'Country Lord.'

82 Mora 2007; Giusfredi 2013:674–676; Weeden 2013:7; Payne 2015:86–87. An alternative view, now generally dismissed, has been advanced by Simon (2009:259–261), who postulates a Tuthaliya V ruling at Hattuša as a son and successor of Šuppiliuma II. For the inscription KARKAMIŠ 16c, see CHLI I:82.

Karkemiš. Ini-Teššub would be the second individual with this name attested on the throne of Karkemiš, the first one having ruled around the mid-13th century BCE as a contemporary of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV. Scholars discuss whether to connect the Ini-Teššub encountered by Tiglathpileser I with epigraphic information gleaned from the stele of KARAHÖYÜK (Elbistan). This Hieroglyphic Luwian document, found *in situ* and dated on paleographic and stylistic ground to the 12th century BCE, attests a Great King Ir(i)-Teššub who inspected and restored the otherwise unknown city of POCULUM.PES₂, probably rendering the ancient name of Karahöyük itself.[83] The equation of Ir(i)-/Ini-Teššub can be considered on supposing a scribal mistake in the hieroglyphic spelling and would imply some sort of hegemony of Karkemiš over the Elbistan area in the late 12th century, presumably including nearby Malatya. This scenario, however, would conflict with the information gleaned from other passages of the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser I, that present Malatya (Assyrian: Melid) as an independent polity under the authority of a ruler named Allumari (see below). Another possibility is that Ir(i)-Teššub was a successor of Kuzi-Teššub, active at a time when Karkemiš still had some form of authority in the Malatya area.[84] Otherwise, yet another independent Great King might well have been active in southeastern Anatolia during the 12th century BCE, eventually leaving a trace only at Karahöyük-Elbistan.[85]

The earliest ruler known from inscriptions found at Karkemiš is Sapaziti, attested with the titles of *Great King, Hero* in the genealogical formulas of two stele inscriptions, dedicated to Sapaziti's son, the Great King Ura-Tarhunza.[86] The date of the inscriptions, suggested on paleographic and historical considerations, provides a *terminus ante quem* for Sapaziti reign in the early 10th century BCE. One of the stele is dedicated by Suhi I, the first of a line of Country Lords who, after ruling for some generations in tandem with Great Kings, later took power as a royal house *de facto*. With this gradual dynastic transition, the history of Karkemiš entered a new phase that will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The unresolved controversies concerning the dynastic sequence of Karkemiš in the early post-Hittite period offer only very shaky historical ground upon which to follow developmental trajectories of the Karkemiš state between the

83   CHLI I:288–295.

84   E.g., Weeden 2013:8.

85   Giusfredi 2010:41–42; Weeden 2023:930–931.

86   KARKAMIŠ A4b and KH.11.O.400. For the former, known from the old excavations, see CHLI I:80–82. The latter has been discovered by the new project in 2011 and is published in Peker 2016:14–17.

reigns of Kuzi-Teššup and Sapaziti. There is reason to suppose that, at least initially, Karkemiš may have taken advantage of the decline and demise of its central Anatolian overlords. Unpublished texts from Tell Sabi Abyad dated around 1190 BCE appear to imply that Karkemiš entered in a conflict with the last attested ruler of Emar, Ahī-Malik, with the support of Assyrian troops.[87] From these circumstances we might cautiously deduce that, around the time Hattuša was being abandoned, Karkemiš was able to play its own cards, joining an alliance with a former rival of Hatti and trying to carve an independent domain out of its previous viceregal premises. A connection has also been proposed between the *Tarwu*-peoples who attacked Emar shortly before its destruction (ca. 1175 BCE; see above, Section 2.2) and the Tarwiza conquered by Tuthaliya Labarna, as claimed in the Silver Bowl.[88] This name can indeed be analyzed as a Luwian ethnicon (-*iza*) from a toponymic root *Tarw*-, meaning the 'Tarwean,' but this is as far as we can go in seeking connections with the Emar evidence.[89]

As mentioned above, the urban layout of Karkemiš did not suffer major disruptions at the transition to the Early Iron Age, but more data are needed in order to evaluate how closely this picture of resilience matched surrounding areal frameworks. Regional surveys in Euphratic Syria and southeastern Anatolia consistently document a sharp increase in settlement numbers from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age, aligning with a general trend also observed elsewhere in neighboring regions.[90] Explanations offered for this phenomenon vary greatly, involving such diverse models as sedentarization of semi-nomadic populations, ruralization of previously urban communities or, eventually, immigrations from other regions.[91] Irrespective of its ultimate demographic causes, the Iron Age settlement expansion documented in the archaeological record may have been fostered by active policies of colonization of the landscape, including the founding of towns. Such practices are attested in inscribed claims of Syro-Anatolian rulers, especially from the 11th century on, but they may have been already in place during the otherwise less-documented 12th century BCE, as suggested by references to urban restorations and repopulation programs contained in the KARAHÖYÜK inscription. Survey data from the Karkemiš and surrounding regions are too coarse for evaluating urban trends

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87   T96-1 and T98–119. See Akkermans and Wiggermans 2015:120.

88   Mora 2007:519.

89   Weeden 2013:7–8.

90   E.g., Yukich 2013; Lawrence and Ricci 2016:53–54. For similar patterns in the Amuq plain, see below, section 4.2.

91   Osborne 2021:35–42.

specific to the early post-Hittite period in this area.[92] More refined chronological data available from excavated sequences may offer useful hints; however, these remain too patchy for a coherent interpretation. At Tille Höyük, on the western Euphrates bank some 160 km upstream from Karkemiš, the construction of an imposing citadel gate redated around the mid-12th century testifies to a very early post-Hittite revitalization of the site after a long hiatus lasting through the Hittite imperial phase.[93] Lidar Höyük, the findspot of the Kuzi-Teššub sealings, lies just ca. 35 km downstream from Tille Höyük, on the opposite bank of the river, and displays a continuous occupation from the Late Bronze Age.[94] In summary, this scattered archaeological information suggests a broad resilience of habitation patterns, or even a thriving urbanization, in Euphratic Syria during the 12th century BCE. Activities in this framework involved the construction of public structures (Tille Höyük gateway) in areas that, judging from the whereabouts of Kuzi-Teššub's sealings, might well have fallen within the bounds of Karkemišean political claims.

Following the Euphrates River northward, and then through mountain passageways across the Taurus, routes from Karkemiš could lead directly to Malatya. The best archaeological evidence for close contacts between the two areas along the Euphrates corridor is a continuous ceramic exchange lasting through the Early and Middle Iron Ages.[95] In cuneiform sources of the Hittite imperial period, Malatya—there known as *Militiya*—appears as an outpost on the unstable frontier with Mittani and Assyria, run by Hittite officials interacting with local elders.[96] On the site of ancient Militiya (present-day Arslantepe), the end of the Late Bronze Age is marked by the violent destruction of the city's so-called *Imperial Gate*. However, the settlement recovered soon thereafter in two phases featuring monumental architecture and imposing fortifications, respectively dating to the final Late Bronze Age (ca. 1250–1200) and to the earlier Early Iron Age, between the 12th and the 11th centuries.[97] Buildings belonging to this latter phase were embellished with sculpted orthostats with figurative scenes, some of which were later removed and reused in the decoration of the *Lion's Gate* of the 8th century BCE.[98] As with Karkemiš, the iconog-

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92   Lawrence and Ricci 2016:53–54.
93   On the reassessment of chronological data from Tille Höyük previously attributed to the Late Bronze Age (Summers 1993), see Summers 2013.
94   Müller 1999.
95   Manuelli 2013, 2020:118–120.
96   Manuelli 2013:413–423.
97   Frangipane et al. 2019–2020; Manuelli 2020.
98   Manuelli and Mori 2016.

raphy of these reliefs, many of which accompanied by Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, directly derives from imperial Hittite traditions.

Thanks to the epigraphic corpus from Arslantepe and other inscriptions found in its environs between Malatya and Elbistan, we understand that during the 12th and 11th centuries the area was occupied by the polity of Malatya, rendered in Hieroglyphic Luwian as *MAˣ.LIˣ.ZI*, corresponding to Assyrian *Melid*.[99] As mentioned above, a lineage of rulers reconstructed from Malatya inscriptions consistently claims descent from Kuzi-Teššub in their genealogies, attributing to him the titles Great King and Hero as well as mentioning, in one case (GÜRÜN), his association with Karkemiš.[100] There is little doubt, therefore, that this Kuzi-Teššub was the same person as the son of Talmi-Teššub who sealed the bullae found at Lidar, although he there appears with the status of king, as opposed to Great King, of Karkemiš. In turn, this secure connection would suggest that in the very early 12th century Karkemiš acquired at least a nominal hegemonic status over Malatya, which would be acknowledged by later rulers of this country. However, the modalities of this Karkemišean dominance are not clear; furthermore, there is no consensus about its possible duration after Kuzi-Teššub.

The first representative of the House of Kuzi-Teššub attested in his own inscriptions is Runtiya, who identifies himself as a son of a PUGNUS-mili (I) and grandson of Kuzi-Teššub.[101] PUGNUS-mili (I) appears in other inscriptions as the father of another grandson of Kuzi-Teššub, Arnuwantis (I).[102] On this basis, Arnuwantis (I) and Runtiya are identified as brothers, the one likely succeeding the other in the dynastic sequence. In fact, although no Runtiya is further attested in later genealogies, Arnuwantis (I) appears to have passed the throne to his son PUGNUS-mili (II), in turn followed by another Arnuwantis (II).[103]

As will often be the case with Syro-Anatolian dynasties documented later (see Chapter 3), the titulature claimed by Malatyan rulers,[104] when attested at all, is not homogeneous but may nevertheless shed light on the political status of Malatya and its relationships with Karkemiš. PUGNUS-mili (I) is consistently attributed no title at all in the genealogies where he appears, possibly meaning that he never had a ruling position or, perhaps, acted as an officer

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99   CHLI I:282–288.
100   Hawkins 1995; CHLI I:286–287.
101   GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE. See CHLI I:295–301.
102   İSPEKÇÜR and DARENDE. See CHLI I:301–305.
103   This succession as established by Hawkins (CHLI I:286–287) has been followed since with
      minor alternative variations. See also Bryce 2012:101–104.
104   Giusfredi 2010:65–116.

with no sovereign authority under his father, Kuzi-Teššub.[105] In his monumental inscriptions, Runtiya styled himself as a *Country Lord* (REGIO.DOMINUS), a title already in use within the Hittite imperial administration and broadly equivalent to cuneiform EN.KUR-*TI*. In the case of the Hittite Empire, *Country Lord* designated high-ranking administrative officers subordinated to the authority of the monarchs residing in Hattuša and possibly recruited from within the royal family.[106] It is possible that a similar hierarchical—and perhaps even familial—relationship governed the cohabitation between Great Kings and Country Lords at Karkemiš until the advent of the House of Suhi in the 10th century BCE.[107] In the ALEPPO 6 inscription, dating to the 11th century (section 4.2), Taita I of Palastin, organized offerings for the temple according to a sort of hierarchic chart that ranked the Country Lord in a position lower than the King (REX) but on par with the Prince.[108] If so, we may assume that also at Malatya, the Country Lord was subordinate to some superior authority (whose identity, however, remains hitherto obscure and whose association with Karkemiš would be only conjectural).[109]

It has been argued that Malatya may have gained full independence from Karkemiš sometime between the reigns of Runtiya and Arnuwantis (I).[110] This transition, again, may be reflected in the titulature: Arnuwantis (I) and his successors regularly claimed the status of King, which was nominally superior to Country Lord.[111] This latter, anyway, continued to be used in combination with other titles as a sort of "dynastic title of Malatya," according to a definition by Hawkins (CHLI I:286–287). The compound title REX.L. 462, borne by PUGNUS-mili (II) and recently read "king's seed/kinsman," has been interpreted as an attempt by this ruler to further disentangle his legitimation from Karkemiš, perhaps by emphasizing ancestral links with the royal house of Hattuša.[112]

Be that as it may with the above suggestions, Melid/Malatya is attested as a sovereign kingdom under the rule of a certain Allumari in the annals of Tiglath-pileser I. It is noteworthy in this respect that the Assyrian king termed the

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105   As cautiously proposed by Bryce (2012:102). Notwithstanding the lack of titles, PUGUS-mili (I) is often included as the first ruler in the dynastic charts of Malatya. See, e.g., Hawkins and Peker 2014:110.

106   Singer 2000:70.

107   Payne 2014.

108   Hawkins 2011.

109   Simon 2020b:154–155.

110   Bryce 2012:99; Blanchard 2019:189.

111   Simon 2020b:154–156. Runtiya is also attested once as "King of Malatya" in the legend of a seal impression found at Arslantepe (MALATYA 15). See CHLI I:575–576.

112   Weeden 2023:933. On the interpretation of L. 462 as 'seed,' see Dinçol et al. 2014:150.

region of Melid "Greater Hatti," thus placing it in the same geographic sphere as Karkemiš, called "Hatti" without a modifier. This usage likely reflected persistent Middle Assyrian geographical conceptions, equating Hatti to virtually anything west of the Euphrates, and not necessarily those proper for the Neo-Assyrian period, when the term more specifically described Karkemiš and surrounding regions. The main problem with the interpretation of the Assyrian evidence concerns the name Allumari, which does not appear to match any of the rulers' names attested in the Malatyan corpus. As we have seen, the hieroglyphic inscriptions permit the reconstruction of a complete genealogy of at least four generations from Kuzi-Teššub, whose lifetime should be placed in the first quarter of the 12th century BCE. In this scenario, the reign of Arnuwantis (II), the last known descendant of Kuzi-Teššub at Malatya, should be set toward the end of the 12th century or even in the early 11th—that is, at around the same time as the reported campaigns of Tiglathpileser I. Although attempts at linguistic comparisons of Allumari with Arnuwantis did not produce compelling results,[113] PUGNUS-mili (II) offers more promising ground for an identification, which, however, has yet to attain widespread acceptance.[114] The only viable alternative would be to consider a shorter duration for one or more generations in the attested genealogy, so as to allow space in the Malizean dynastic sequence for an Allumari otherwise unknown at Malatya itself.[115]

The fate of Karkemiš at this juncture and afterwards is largely unknown, due to the lack of local sources and the paucity of external references through the 11th century BCE. Furthermore, architectonic phases of the city corresponding to this period have come to light only very recently, and for limited portions of the site. The above overview shows that after the end of the 12th century, Karkemiš was no longer a prominent player to the north of the Taurus. The final destruction of the gateway of Tille Höyük, now dated to after 1090 BCE, and the ensuing hiatus, of unknown duration, might be seen in connection with the campaigns of Tiglathpileser I and perhaps, in turn, a crisis of local regional powers that may have hampered a swift recovery.[116] A potential target of expansion for Karkemiš could have been the surroundings of Aleppo, but this trajectory was cut off in the 11th century BCE by the rise of the kingdom of Palastin (see section 4.2).[117] Regardless of these speculations about regional developments,

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113   Jasink 1995:158–159, 201.
114   Giusfredi 2010:257 fn.564; Simon 2016c.
115   This is, for example, the solution eventually preferred by Bryce (2012:103–105).
116   On the revised chronology of the gateway and its broader implications, see Summers 2013.
117   Hawkins and Weeden 2016:11; Brown and Smith 2016:26–27. Karkemiš is explicitly mentioned, together with Egypt, in a fragmentary context of an inscription attributed to Taita I of W/Palastin in the Aleppo temple: see Hawkins 2011:53; Weeden 2013:17.

the city of Karkemiš itself does not appear to have suffered major setbacks during the 11th century. On the contrary, recent excavations have uncovered warehouses and a large granary dating to this period, showing that the central economic administration continued to function. This same impression is conveyed by the likely continuation of a local line of Great Kings, suggested by early 10th century inscriptions (see above).

We are in a better position in regard to 11th century developments at Malatya. Local inscriptions attest that during this period, the throne likely passed to another lineage of rulers without any apparent kinship ties with the House of Kuzi-Teššub. The first ruler of this new dynasty, Tara (CRUS+RA/I-sa), even employs the title Hero, thus reviving a Hittite imperial epithet reserved to the Great Kings. In the long inscription of IZGIN, in the Elbistan plain, Tara boasts about the refoundation of the city of Taita, already mentioned by Runtiya's inscriptions, as well as an expansive policy at the frontiers that led to several annexations, including the city of Hilika/ Hirika, whose problematic localization will be addressed in Chapter 3. As suggested by recent radiocarbon determinations, toward the mid- to late 11th century, the fortified walls of Arslantepe-Malatya were destroyed. Whatever the causes of this event, life on the site soon resumed and, contrary to earlier pessimistic interpretations, possibly even thrived.[118] In fact, the latest archaeological findings in the strata above the debris of the fortifications, dated to the 10th century, have brought to light portions of an imposing ceremonial building and six large granary silos indicative of a working centralized economy.[119] It is nonetheless possible that the disruption was sufficient to cause a dynastic discontinuity; in the 10th century, power at Malatya appears to have passed to yet another family claiming no ties with earlier rulers, as we shall see in Chapter 3.

4.2   *The Northern Levant and Cilicia*

Excavations on the citadel of Aleppo between 1996 and 2005 brought to light a lengthy dedicatory inscription in Hieroglyphic Luwian, engraved in stone blocks making up the eastern wall of the main temple of the city, devoted to the Storm God.[120] The author or sponsor of the inscription, now labeled ALEPPO 6, identifies himself as Taita, "Hero" and "King" and defines his ethnic affiliation with the adjective *Pa-la-sà-ti-ní-za*, the "Palastinean."[121] The same ethnic

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118   E.g., Hawkins and Weeden 2016:11.

119   Frangipane et al. 2019–2020:81.

120   Kohlmeyer 2009; Hawkins 2011.

121   This discovery came after the recognition that the hieroglyphic sign L. 172 formerly transliterated as TA₅ was in fact to be read as *la/i* (Rieken and Yakubovich 2010). Moreover, it was

adjective and titles, likely referring again to Taita, occur in a fragmentary context of another inscription found in the temple of Aleppo (ALEPPO 7), incised on a sphinx statue.[122] Palaeographically, ALEPPO 6 and 7 can be convincingly dated to the 11th century as they share several features with the earliest works from Karkemiš and Malatya, such as the ligature *zi+a* for *za*. This dating would align with radiocarbon dates obtained from timber beams found in the temple debris.[123]

Before the discoveries of the Aleppo inscriptions, the name Taita had already been known together with that of his wife, Kupapiya, from other two hieroglyphic documents found at Meharde and Sheizar, in the environs of Hama, ca. 120 km south of Aleppo.[124] Here, the claimed ethnic affiliation is identical, with the only remarkable variants of initial *Wa-* instead of *Pa-* and the use of the determinative for country (REGIO). The alternation between *p* and *w* for the first consonant might reflect the sound /f/, perhaps resulting from a former /p/.[125] As in Aleppo, both MEHARDE and SHEIZAR attribute to Taita the title "Hero," with the addition of "King" in MEHARDE. None of the two compositions was found *in situ*, but their paleography and orthography, combined with historical evaluations, would suggest their date to be considerably later than the Aleppo inscriptions, within the 10th or even the early 9th century BCE. If so, there must have existed at least two kings Taita (I and II) active in the Iron Age northern Levant, separated from one another by some generations.[126]

The name W/Palastin, associated with other personal names, also appears in another three hieroglyphic inscriptions: a group of fragments found in 1936 at Tell Taynat, in the Amuq valley (TELL TAYNAT 1), and two stelae recently discovered at Arsuz, near modern İskenderun (ARSUZ 1 and 2).[127] The text of TELL TAYNAT 1 is in very poor conditions, but one fragment mentions a personage Halparuntiya, with no associated title preserved. The Arsuz stelae, almost complete, were dedicated by Suppiluliuma, Hero and King, son and successor of Manana. Stylistic and paleographic considerations suggest a late 10th century date for the ARSUZ 1 and 2 inscriptions. On the same ground, TELL TAYNAT 1 would also date to the late 10th or the early 9th century. Finally,

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also accepted that the sign *sà* represented the sound /s/ before other consonants (Rieken 2010).

122   1, §1: [… *pa*-TA₅-]*s*[*à*]-*ti-ní-za-sa* (VIR₂) HEROS REX. After Hawkins 2011:48.
123   Kohlmeyer 2008:122 fn.12.
124   CHLI I:415–419.
125   Singer 2012:463.
126   Hawkins 2011:51; Weeden 2013:13–15; Giusfredi 2018:164–165.
127   CHLI I:365–367; Dinçol et al. 2015.

the excavations at Tell Taynat of 2012 have yielded a colossal statue featuring another inscription of a Suppiluliuma (TELL TAYNAT 4), with unmentioned titles and country. In any case, this Suppiluliuma must be different from the Suppiluliuma of Arsuz and a likely successor thereof, as the new Taynat inscription is palaeographically dated to within the 9th century.[128]

It is generally agreed that Hieroglyphic Luwian W/Palastin must correspond to the ethnicon Pa(t)tinayya and the related place name Pa(t)tinu, recurring in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform records.[129] From these attestations, in fact, we understand that Patina was geographically connected with, if not a synonym of, the toponyms Unqi, referring to the Amuq, and the regional capital Kunulua, the ancient name of Tell Taynat.

On combining Hieroglyphic Luwian and Assyrian sources, we can therefore establish the existence between the 11th and early 9th centuries BCE of a kingdom named Palastin, centered in the Amuq valley (Assyrian Unqi) and having its capital at Tell Taynat (Kunulua) (Fig. 2.3). This identification has important implications for the understanding of Iron Age interactions in the eastern Mediterranean.

On account of a clear assonance, the emergence of the kingdom of Palastin is generally considered in connection with the phenomenon of the Philistines. The people(s) known as 'Philistines' in English, corresponding to Biblical *PLŠT* and Assyrian *Pilištu*, occupied the southern coast of Canaan in the Iron Age I–II (12th–7th c. BCE) and are deemed to descend from a group of Sea Peoples mentioned as Pelešet in Egyptian sources.[130] Most scholars thus consider the possibility that, in the course of the Sea Peoples' migrations, groups of Philistines settled the Amuq and gave rise therein to a northern Philistine kingdom.[131]

As we shall discuss in more detail in Chapter 10, the relationship between Palastin and Philistines, if any existed, was probably more nuanced and indirect than hitherto assumed. What is important to stress here is that the rulers of Palastin made no effort to emphasize a rupture with the cultural milieu we would expect to emerge in the region in continuity from the Hittite Empire period. Aside from the Palastin–Philistines question, the only piece of linguistic evidence that may be called upon to account for a possible foreign origin

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128   CHLI III:148–149.
129   But see Simon 2020:162.
130   Hawkins 2009, Singer 2012; Weeden 2013.
131   Hawkins 2009:172; Emanuel 2015.
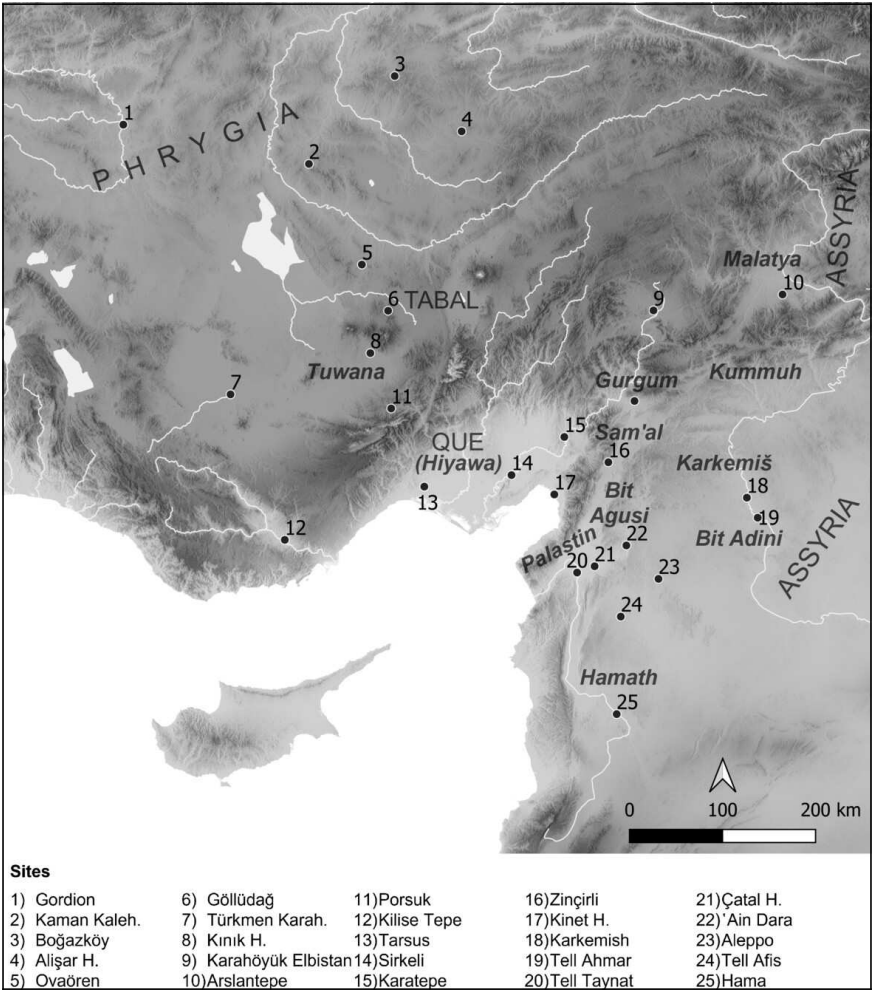
FIG. 2.3   The Syro-Anatolian region during the Iron Age, with key sites and main regional
             entities

of the Palastinean dynasty is the name of the first attested ruler, Taita. This
name is arguably not Anatolian nor Semitic, but has been interpreted as Hur-
rian, a language hardly foreign to northern Syria in the late second millennium
BCE.[132] Taita (II)'s wife was named Kupapiya, a Luwian derivative in *-iya* of
the theonym Kubaba (lit. "she of Kubaba"). All other Palastinean rulers so far

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132   Steitler 2010, but based on a shaky identification with the Biblical personage To'i, king of
       Hama. See the rebuttal by Simon 2014b:725.

attested in native or Assyrian sources bore Anatolian names, two of which, Lu/abarna and Suppiluliuma, pay clear homage to Hittite royal onomastics.

Not a single document is known from Palastin that is written in Phoenician or Aramaic, which by the 9th and 8th centuries constituted the main linguistic novelty after the end of the Late Bronze Age on the northern Amanus region and in Cilicia, just to the north and west of the Amuq. The Hieroglyphic Luwian used at Palastin does not show remarkable peculiarities or recognizable traces of interference with other languages. With his inscription on the eastern wall of the Aleppo temple, Taita I celebrates the rebuilding of a sacred structure that had been in place since the Middle Bronze Age. In doing so, he reused sculpted orthostats that had been erected during the Hittite period and integrated them with new additions that reiterated the same iconographic style.[133] Therefore, based on the available historical evidence alone, Palastin can be characterized as a Syro-Anatolian rump state that, on a par with the nearby kingdoms of Karkemiš and Malatya, emerged in the aftermath of the Hittite Empire and inherited its rhetoric of official representation.

A more remarkable admixture of innovative, and possibly foreign, features with traditions inherited from the previous period is seemingly reflected in the archaeological record of the northern Levant. A hallmark of the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition across the northern Levant is the appearance of locally manufactured painted ceramics, the so-called *Late Helladic IIIC* (LH IIIC) wares, derived from Aegean and Cypriot potting traditions of the Late Bronze Age. Alongside ceramics, Aegean or Cypriot influences are represented in other material cultural features occurring in IA I (ca. 1200–900 BCE) contexts across the Levant, relating to a range of activities, from food preparation and preservation to textile industry.[134] In most cases, these artifacts, which scholars generally associate with groups of foreign migrants, occur together with local traditions inherited from the previous period. In particular, an increasing popularity of LH IIIC ceramics in the earliest phases of the Iron Age at Taynat, Tell Afis and other major centers of the northern Levant occurs alongside the continuation of both painted and plain ceramic wares derived from the local Late Bronze Age repertoire.[135]

The Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition had varying effects on settlement histories, resulting in different areal patterns. On the coast, the continuity and even flourishing of major central Levantine centers (future Phoenicia), from Sarepta to Tell Arqa, contrasts with major destructions of Late Bronze Age sites

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133   Kohlmeyer 2009.

134   Venturi 2007; Lehman 2013; Janeway 2017; Pucci 2019. See also Chapter 10.

135   Venturi 2007; Welton et al. 2019:301–305 and 308–311.

in the north, followed by complete abandonment (Ugarit) or reoccupation on a much reduced scale (e.g., Tell Kazel, Ras Ibn Hani, Ras el Bassit).[136] Farther inland, in and around the future land of Palastin proper, the scale of socio-cultural change varied from site to site, with continuities or swift recoveries, especially regarding religious buildings. We have already mentioned the broad resilience of templar architecture in Aleppo, determined by a superimposition through the second millennium BCE of several interventions until Taita's restorations in the 11th century BCE. In a similar vein, the imposing temple of nearby 'Ain Dara (Fig. 2.2), embellished with Hittite-style sculptures, was already in use during the 13th century and underwent renovations very early in the post-Hittite period—that is, around the 11th or even the 12th century BCE.[137] At Tell Afis, imposing buildings and residential quarters dating to the Hittite imperial period were destroyed by a violent conflagration in the early 12th century.[138] However, monumental architecture already resumed therein around the 11th century, as indicated by the remains of a temple structure and the associated materials found in a test-pit conducted on the acropolis.[139] These patterns signal a broad resilience of religious institutions inherited from the Late Bronze Age that in turn may have functioned as catalysts for a quick political reorganization in post-Hittite Syria.[140]

In the Amuq valley, surveys document a rise in settlement numbers between the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age, coupled with a general reduction of their average size.[141] The main settlement of the region throughout much of the second millennium, Alalah/Tell Açana, was largely abandoned by the end of the 13th century, but the twin site of Tell Taynat, located less than one kilometer to the north, was settled in the 12th century BCE and soon afterwards fully replaced Alalah as the regional capital.[142] The earliest major architectonic phase of the Iron Age known at Taynat, labeled *Building Period 1* by the Chicago Syro-Hittite Expedition that first excavated the site in the 1930s, has been dated by recent assessments to the 10th BCE.[143] Most of the hieroglyphic fragments so far recovered, including TELL TAYNAT 1, and several pieces of Syro-Anatolian monumental art are associated with this phase that has its main architectonic

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136   For a synthesis, Venturi 2007:403–408; Knapp and Manning 2016:128–130.
137   Kohlmeyer 2008; Novák 2012.
138   Venturi 2007 and 2010.
139   Venturi 2010:10; Mazzoni 2010.
140   D'Alfonso and Lovejoy 2023.
141   Harrison 2009a.
142   Yener 2013:17–19.
143   Welton et al. 2019:300; Manning et al. 2020:22.

feature in the massive Building XIV. By contrast, the occupation layers corresponding in date to the ruling period of Taita I and the formation of the kingdom of Palastin (11th century), i.e., phases 6a–5, have hitherto produced no monumental finds and very little architecture in general. Although a larger exposure of these phases is undoubtedly needed before reaching definitive conclusions, we may at least consider the possibility that the capital of Palastin was not at Taynat/Kunulua since the very beginning, but instead moved there only at a later stage, presumably in context with the foundation of Building Period 1. In this case, the power base of Taita I should be sought elsewhere, and the best candidate would be Aleppo, where building activities and inscriptions attributed to this ruler are actually attested. In this scenario, Palastin would share with Karkemiš similar roots in former Hittite political landscapes, as Aleppo during the Late Bronze Age was the seat of a viceregal kingdom that was governed, on par with Karkemiš, by a branch of the Hittite royal family.

Throughout the Bronze Age, the Amuq valley and the northern Levant have been deeply connected with Cilicia, reachable from the east by crossing the Amanus mountains. Interactions along this trajectory also continued during the Iron Age. The aforementioned twin inscriptions of ARSUZ 1 and 2, dated to the 10th century BCE, document a conflict between the king of Palastin and the lands of Hiyawa and Adana, seemingly presented as two separate city-states.[144] As we shall see, in epichoric inscriptions from the 8th century BCE, the place names Hiyawa and Adanawa will converge in a quasi-synonymic pair to indicate a kingdom occupying Plain Cilicia, in turn corresponding to Assyrian Que, documented from the 9th century on. These circumstances would thus lead to the conclusion that during the Early Iron Age and initial Middle Iron Age, Plain Cilicia experienced a trend toward gradual political integration of the former territories of Kizzuwatna, which had evidently segregated from one another after the demise of Hittite imperial rule. Unfortunately, the historical developments that accompanied this process are immersed in a deep Dark Age due to the lack of relevant textual records.

The only data for the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition and the Early Iron Age in Cilicia up to the 10th century exclusively derive from archaeological research, chiefly the excavations at Kilise Tepe, Tarsus and Kinet Höyük, whereas the recently published results from Sirkeli Höyük provide some additional information.[145] At Tarsus, the last Late Bronze Age stratum (LB IIa),

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144   Dinçol et al. 2015.

145   For the oft-assumed Greek influences on the socio-cultural make-up of Hiyawa/Adanawa, see Chapters 4 and 10.

featuring public architecture and residential quarters of the Hittite imperial age, ended with a violent conflagration, dated on historical criteria to the end of the 13th century and connected to the well-known events marking the collapse of the Hittite Empire. The subsequent stratum LB IIb was characterized by flimsier architecture that has been interpreted as a decline in the socio-economic conditions of the settlement. Recent re-evaluations of the stratigraphy of stratum LB IIb have identified a sequence of seven different architectonic phases, the first three of which can be dated to the 12th century based on the occurrence of LH III C wares.[146] A similar development toward simpler habitation patterns following the demise of monumental public architecture is recorded in the Early Iron Age levels of Kinet Höyük and Kilise Tepe after the destruction of the last Late Bronze Age structures. Kilise Tepe bears evidence of two subsequent violent conflagrations intervaled by a partial restoration, at the end of the 13th century (Level IIc) and around the mid-12th century (Level IId), respectively. Flimsy domestic buildings occupy the earliest Iron Age phases, followed in later strata through the pre-Classical age by large open spaces and workshop installations and no architecture.[147] At Kinet Höyük, on the other hand, architecture on a larger scale recovered in the Middle Iron Age.[148] Recent results show quite different developments at Sirkeli Höyük. Here, in fact, following a transition whose contours remain unclear, substantial architecture (Building D1) appears to have resumed in the 11th century and, around the same time or perhaps somewhat later, a fortification wall was built to enclose the inner citadel.[149]

As in the northern Levant, plain wares of Hittite derivation continued to circulate and were produced through the 12th century in most excavated sites, albeit at lower quality standards and on a more domestic scale. Weakened Hittite centralized control over ceramic production also led to the appearance, alongside standard wares, of a new type of coarse handmade painted pottery, the so-called *Cilician Red Painted*, first at Kilise Tepe (14th century BCE), and then across the western Cilician plain, where it lasted through the Early Iron Age phases.[150] Ceramic evidence also signals a contraction of interregional trade in Cilicia after the Late Bronze Age: Cypriot imports popular in the region during the Hittite imperial period ceased to circulate by the early 12th

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146   Yalçın 2013.

147   Postgate and Thomas 2007; Postgate 2008; Bouthillier et al. 2014.

148   Gates 2013.

149   Von Peschke in Novák et al. 2019:256, 293–295; Novák 2019–2020:157–161.

150   Postgate 2007; Bouthillier et al. 2014:145, 150–152; Jean 2022.

century, although their production at home apparently continued for some-
what longer.[151] However, this fact does not mean complete cessation of contacts
with Cyprus, whose influence is indeed perceivable in the LH IIIC wares from
Tarsus, not only in the form of stylistic parallels but also in proper imports
identified by chemical analysis.[152] Cypro-Cilician connections began to inten-
sify once more in the late 11th and 10th centuries and developed into a *koiné*
that remained a hallmark of Cilician material culture over the Middle Iron
Age.[153]

Due to the sudden appearance at Tarsus and elsewhere of LH IIIC Aegeaniz-
ing features, including cooking pots and other pieces of utilitarian ware, as
well as the Greek influences deemed to transpire in Cilicia from later epichoric
inscriptions (Chapter 10), the region lies at the core of migratory models pro-
posed in relation to the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition.[154] It must be
stressed, however, that the LH IIIC influence is now understood to be much
more limited than previously thought.[155] A re-evaluation of early survey finds
has circumscribed the area with LH IIIC ceramics to the western coastal strip
between Tarsus and Soli, with the more recent addition of Kilise Tepe further
inland to the west.[156] Corroborating this western focus, relatively few LH IIIC
materials have been excavated at Kinet Höyük and virtually none at Sirkeli
Höyük.[157] In any case, the proportion of LH IIIC ceramics and other Aegeaniz-
ing features appears to have been minimal wherever these are found, com-
pared with local material frameworks.[158] At Kinet Höyük, possible shifts in the
population make-up after the end of the Late Bronze Age are inferred from
swift changes in the functional pottery repertoire and bioarchaeological assem-
blages, which may, in turn, reflect a radical transition of dietary habits toward
pastoralists' behavioral patterns.[159] Even if correctly interpreted, these data can
hardly provide conclusive evidence for assessing the origin of suggested popu-
lation movements.

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151   Lehmann 2017:234.
152   French 1975; Mommsen et al. 2011.
153   Novák 2010:408. D'Agata (2022) revisits the label *koiné* to stress the strong dependence of
       Cilician Iron Age ceramic traditions from Cypriot models.
154   See, most prominently, Yasur-Landau 2010:158–161.
155   For a recent general overview, see Lehmann 2017.
156   Salmeri and D'Agata 2003; French 2007.
157   Gates 2010. For 12th century BCE ceramics at Sirkeli Höyük, see Novák et al. 2019a.
158   Lehmann 2017:244.
159   Gates 2013:103.

5   **The Linguistic Map of the Ancient Near East after the End of the Bronze Age**

The change in the political geography reflects changes in the cultural one, which, in turn, has an impact on the geographical distribution of languages and epigraphic cultures both in Anatolia as well as in Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant.

The fall of the Hittite Empire coincides with the end of the use of Hittite as a political, administrative and cultural written language, although a few observations are in order. First, we do not know how widespread Hittite was outside of Hattuša in the final century of the Bronze Age. It was certainly a living written language, and there are hints that a variety strongly influenced by Luwian was used (cf. Pisaniello and Giusfredi 2021; Pisaniello and Giusfredi 2023). Second, although it is obvious that Hittite died out at some point—for no indication of its use exists after the last quarter of the 13th century—we have no way to establish when it ceased to be used. The abandonment of Hattuša (Seeher 2001) implies that the court moved elsewhere; most likely it was relocated to a different city for a period of time we are unable to measure. It appears impossible to say whether, and for how long, Hittite as a language survived the final transfer of the court. Historical onomastics is particularly unhelpful: although a few personal names that are clearly Hittite emerge from the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of the Iron Age, the clear conservativity of anthroponomastic materials uncouples the survival of personal names from the final destiny of the language in which they originated.

At the same time, the diffusion of the imperial variety of Luwian as the most widespread language of central Anatolia had probably already begun during the 13th century, but we have only scant documentary traces of it during the Dark Ages, and most of the Luwian inscriptions from central Anatolia (the region called Tabal by the Assyrians, cf. Giusfredi et al. 2021) date to the full Iron Age.[160]

The relationship between the collapse of the Mittanian kingdom and the death of Hurrian is very much parallel to that of the Hittite Empire and its language. Mittani, as a political entity, was obliterated more than a century before the end of Hatti, but languages do not disappear as soon as the polities that use them collapse. However, because the survival of Hurrian onomastics in Hieroglyphic Luwian until the Iron Age (Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2022) was

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160   See CHLI I:429–531 and CHLI III:336–348.

due to the crystalized use of Hurrian names by Luwian peoples, we cannot safely assume that Hurrian survived as a truly spoken language after the Bronze Age collapse. Its only known relative, Urartian, which is actually closer to Old Hurrian than to Mittani Hurrian, would emerge in areas similar to those in which Hurrian was spoken. But although it appeared in documents only much later, starting from the 9th century BCE, it certainly did not appear 'out of the blue' and was probably alive, as a non-written language, during the second millennium, so there is no reason to connect its diffusion to the disappearance of Hurrian in some sort of outdated model of language replacement by local migration.

The area where Hittite was spoken appears to have been divided in two separate linguistic regions at the end of the Dark Age. The southern part of the Kızılırmak River corresponded to what the Assyrians will call *Tabal* (on the identification of the core area this designation referred to, and for an etymology of the name, see Giusfredi et al. 2021). Here, Luwian appears to be the official language of the inscriptions and, because no evidence exists for the penetration of any of the other surrounding languages, it was probably spoken, too. To the north of the river, there are no real data to determine how large the Luwian-speaking area was, but neither is there a reason to assume that the river was a linguistic frontier (Simon 2017a).

The western portions of central Anatolia, however, were linguistically separated from the future Tabal region. Recent developments in the archaeology of the post-Hittite phase indicate that the Phrygian migration (or, to be more cautious, emergence), occurred much earlier than the age of the first inscriptions. More precisely, the Early Phrygian levels of Gordion should now be dated to the late 10th–9th centuries BCE (Kealhofer et al. 2019; D'Alfonso 2019), which may lead to assume that the Phrygian language was, in all likelihood, already endemic in west-central Anatolia—if not during the Dark Age, then at least immediately after it. However, this is as far back as we dare to go. The problem of when, how and from where Phrygian entered Anatolia is completely different. The migrationist model that is still employed in some very recent works (e.g., Kloekhorst 2017) probably has some merit, but the idea that the Phrygians migrated from the Balkans during the Dark Age—as soon as the fall of Hatti left a political vacuum—appears rather simplistic, historically, for at least two reasons. The first is that, in general, the "large migration" model has been successfully criticized in recent decades (cf. Anthony 2007, Giusfredi and Matessi 2021; see also Volume 1, Chapter 3), and likely ought to be replaced by a more fluid model in which large movements happen like slow waves by the combination and summation of smaller movements. The second reason is that although the influence of the Hittite Empire in western Anatolia is historically certain,

its intensity remains a matter of debate, so one cannot simply assume that its collapse had immediately catastrophic implications for the political geography of the area.

Farther to the west, the transitional phase must have coincided with political changes, which would, in the *longue durée*, lead to the emergence of the Lydian, Carian and Lycian cultures. Unfortunately, a significant time gap exists between the Dark Age and the earliest written documents from the area, which renders the identification of the Lydians, Lycians and Carians with specific groups or polities of the Late Bronze Age conjectural. Discussing the specific problems of each of the possible—or even likely—matches (Lukka/Lycia, Karkiša/Caria, but also the problem of the alleged Lydian homeland) is well beyond the scope of the present chapter, so we limit ourselves to the discussion we provided elsewhere (Giusfredi and Matessi 2021:16–17, with references to further literature).

If the situation in western and west-central Anatolia (if not its genesis) is generally known, that of eastern Anatolia and of the extreme northern portions of Upper Mesopotamia—up to the sources of the Euphrates and to the region of the Armenian lakes—cannot be easily reconstructed before the 9th–8th centuries BCE. This is because the Late Bronze Age linguistic geography of this area is unknown, with the exception of the presence of Hurrian (possibly among other languages) in the surroundings of Malatya that can be assumed based on sparse onomastic data (Giusfredi and Matessi 2021:22). By the full Iron Age, with the formation and expansion of the Urartian kingdom, Urartian will become the written language employed, but—as usual—the date at which a language starts being written should not be confused with that at which said language became endemic, or even prevalent, in a given territory.

After discussing the center, the west and the east, it is time to move on to the north and the south. As for the former, very few areas in the Ancient Near East are as elusive and as nondescript as the Black Sea coasts of Anatolia during the Final Bronze Age and the Dark and Early Iron Ages, especially—but not only—from a linguistic point of view. If the collocation of the Palaic-speaking area somewhere between Paphlagonia and Bythinia, probably close to the boundaries of the Hattian-speaking world, is safely established, even for the Bronze Age we have very little information about the eastern parts of Paphlagonia and the Pontus. Arguably, the unknown languages of the Kaška and that of the peoples of Hayaša were endemic, but if, how and when they disappeared at the end of the Bronze Age, and what replaced them, is impossible to establish.

The southern regions of Anatolia, including the abovementioned Lycia, as well as the northern parts of Syria, are generally characterized by the presence of Luwic languages. This is easily explained as a case of continuity with respect

to the situation of the Late Bronze Age; nevertheless, the eastern portions of the area—Cilicia and the Amuq and Middle Euphrates valleys—present clear multilingual features that likely originated during the Dark Age. Cilicia, which will receive a separate discussion in a dedicated chapter of this volume, was already a bilingual area during the second millennium BCE, when it was inhabited by Hurrians and Luwians for centuries. During the Iron Age, it would remain a multilingual area, but the languages involved (with the exception of Luwian) would have changed. Phoenician (more precisely, the Tyro-Sydonian dialect) was certainly used, or at least known, in the region, as quite famously testified by the presence of Luwo-Phoenician bilingual documents, and some scholars believe that a Greek presence must also be assumed (see Chapter 10 for further discussion). Yet again, however, any attempt to establish at which stage toward or after the end of the second millennium the penetration of new groups occurred would be speculative at best.

To complete the picture of the areas in which Anatolian languages were used, the northern Syrian region begins southeast of Cilicia. Although most of the data come, in this case as well, from the full Iron Age, there is no reason to doubt that from the Amanus to the Middle Euphrates, and to the future kingdom of Hama to the south, the survival of Luwian as an official monumental language was a result of the expansion of the Hittite polities during the 14th and 13th centuries BCE. Sociolinguistically, however, it is important to emphasize a few facts. First of all, it is impossible to discern the extent to which Luwian was used outside of the royal inscriptions of a number of Syro-Anatolian rulers. Still, the presence of contact phenomena (such as loanwords from Semitic and a few—albeit quite clear—traces of grammatical interference) appear to indicate that the language was not merely a written one. Second, Luwian coexisted with Aramaic all over the Syrian area: this is evident in cases such as Hama or Sam'al, but it is very likely that multilingualism was a general feature of the Syro-Anatolian cultural world. Furthermore, the origin of Aramaic from a linguistic perspective is as elusive as that of the Arameans in cultural and political terms. As observed by Golinets (2021), the first areas in which Aramaic appears to be attested, or can be reasonably assumed to have been spoken, roughly coincides with regions in which the presence of Amorrite can be reconstructed at least for the Late Bronze Age. The relationship between Aramaic and Amorrite is impossible to establish, with Amorrite seemingly close to the Canaanite languages. This means that we cannot possibly establish which languages of the West Semitic group Hittite and Luwian came into contact with during the final centuries of the second millennium. The safer assumption is that contact involved a spectrum of different languages that were all related and all spoken in northern Syria. From this perspective, the historically attested contact

between Aramaic and Iron Age Luwian in specific portions of the area that left us epigraphic materials is likely a part of a wider phenomenon, which must have existed for a longer period and happens to be visible only for the full Iron Age.

In a similar but geographically different fashion, a special case contact of Semitic and Luwian represented by Phoenician does not seem to play a significant role outside of Cilicia. It will be used sporadically in Sam'al, and it is probably mentioned in an 8th century inscription from Karkemiš, but there is no reason to assume that it actually spread on the coasts of the Levant much farther than the Phoenician core area. This fact has important implications for the way it entered Cilicia: because the diffusion did not happen on the mainland, the best possible explanation is that it entered southern Anatolia via Cyprus.

All in all, the Dark Age resulted in a radical redefinition of the linguistic map of the Ancient Near East, producing several new multilingual and interface areas. The details of each of them will, of course, be discussed in the dedicated chapters of the present volume.

The Iron Age

Alvise Matessi and Federico Giusfredi

1   Introduction

The distinction between what we call the *Dark Age* and the full Iron Age, is conventional. Nonetheless, deciding whether a conventional divide is worth preserving depends on the validity of the criteria deemed relevant to the periodization. As made clear already in the previous chapter, it is no longer very accurate to state that the Dark Age is defined by a lack of sources. No catastrophic historical event makes a separation between Dark Age and Iron Age necessary for historical description. Moreover, from the perspective of the linguistic and cultural geography of the area (which is of the utmost interest for this overview), because significant changes occurred during the Dark Age—not at its end—they do not constitute viable criteria of demarcation for the beginning of the full Iron Age, either.

Nonetheless, the choice to preserve the label *Dark Age* and the distinction between the 11th and the full 10th century should be understood as a means to indicate an extension of the setting within a general pattern of continuity. If for the 12th and 11th centuries the available sources come from a limited number of regions, the 10th century is the stage during which the changes in the cultural and linguistic map of the Ancient Near East that originated in the previous centuries appear to be fully completed and begin to emerge, archaeologically and textually, in a wider area that corresponds to what Osborne (2021) has described as the area of the Syro-Anatolian Cultural Complex (SACC; see Chapter 2, Section 1). As a consequence, the regions mentioned in the present chapter are larger and more numerous than those discussed in the previous one, and the relationships between polities and cities also change, resulting in a geographical periodization that will be slightly different and more articulate than the one employed above.

When referring to the area to be discussed in the present chapter, however, it is first necessary to clarify how and why we select the regions of interest in terms of linguistic geography, but without mistakenly assuming that the linguistic criterion can be equated to the cultural, ethnic or political one. Not only is this equation a fallacy, as shown by Osborne: even the relationship between the political identity of a kingdom and the official linguistic and graphemic code it selects for communicating power is looser than one would expect.

Nonetheless, although it is clearly impossible to disentangle the Anatolian components of the Syro-Anatolian mixed culture, measuring the extension of the Luwian epigraphic culture is clearly important for the purpose of the present volume. The area that produced Luwian materials during the Iron Age is quite large, and, more importantly, it is interregional. Proceeding from the south, we find testimonies of the Luwian scribal culture in central Syria, northern Syria (Middle Euphrates region and Orontes Valley), Plain Cilicia, and central and eastern Anatolia. Farther to the west, we do not possess clear data, but a relatively late[1] Phoenician document from Cebelireis Dağı (Mosca and Russell 1987; Röllig 2008; Giusfredi 2024) contains proper names that are clearly Luwian.[2] Farther to the north, past the lower bend of the Kızılırmak, the situation is equally uncertain, but Simon (2017a) convincingly argued for a Luwian presence also in the central portions of Cappadocia (up to Alişar), which makes the Anatolian Luwians direct neighbors of the Phrygians.

1.1 *Continuity and Discontinuity, Internal and External Boundaries*

A stunning peculiarity of the rather large area where Luwian was used during the Iron Age is that (Fig. 3.1), from quite a few different perspectives, the language used appears to exhibit very little dialectological variation. The geographical labels that were employed in the previous paragraph of this chapter (Euphrates region, Orontes valley, central Syria, Cilicia, Anatolia) are historically meaningful, and, although they all belong to the SACC cultural continuum (Chapter 2, Section 1), they also exhibit cultural differences (to mention the most obvious one, the Semitic linguistic element in Anatolia is weaker than it is in Syria). Diachronically, too, evenemential criteria apply, in the context of the increasing frictions with the expanding influence of the Neo-Assyrian polity.[3] Of course, some distinctions may emerge, also regarding material culture. Even the type of epigraphic supports on which Luwian hieroglyphs were inscribed are somewhat different: orthostats are prevalent in northern Syria,

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1 The date is uncertain, but for paleographic reasons a late 7th or early 6th century seems a plausible guess.

2 E.g., *MSNZMš* = Massanazammi 'beloved by the gods'; *WLWY* = Walwi or Walwiya, connected to *walwa/i-*, 'lion'; possibly also ʾšLPRN (which appears to be a relic of Hittite onomastics, if to be read, indeed, *Asulaparna-*). See now the new discussion and commentary by Giusfredi 2024.

3 For a general historical overview, see Giusfredi 2010, chapter 2; Bryce 2012. Both works, although somewhat outdated with respect to new epigraphic discoveries, do offer a useful general picture of the historical parable of the Syro-Anatolian states in the context of the Assyrian imperial expansion. For a more recent discussion, see Osborne 2021:126–164.
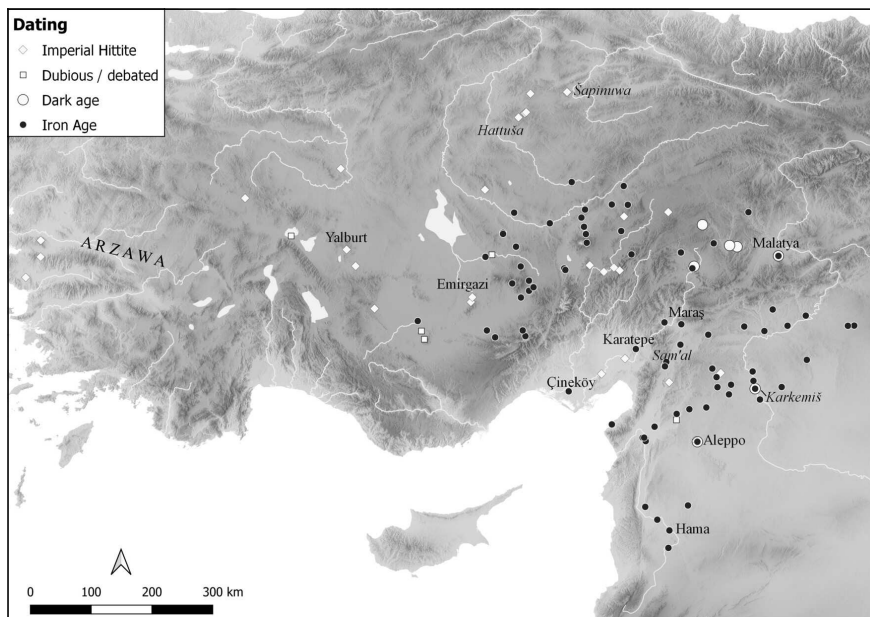
FIG. 3.1   Distribution of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions by date

whereas Anatolia makes intensive use of stele and rock-cut monuments, and
Cilicia appears to be, again, a stand-alone area.

Iron Age Luwian, on the other hand, appears to be very consistent, from both
a graphemic and a linguistic point of view.[4] Graphemically, there are no clear
examples of signs that develop functional differences in different areas of the
Luwian-writing macro-region. Of course, the fact that the northern Syrian and
Anatolian scribal productions culminate in different phases may create some
false impressions. The disappearance of the scribal habit of writing the initial
/a/ at the end of the prosodic segment (the so-called *initial-a-final*) is mostly
evident from 8th century Anatolian materials and, because we have few north-
ern Syrian specimina after the early years of the House of Astiruwa in Karkemiš
(at the turning point between 9th and 8th centuries), it is methodologically
impossible to exclude the possibility that an areal tendency was at work in the
regions that instead left a larger number of sources. We also have evidence of
one *insular* graphemic tradition, such as the Suvasa-Topada area, in which a set
of alternative syllabic signs are used; unfortunately, however, serious problems

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4   Some attempts at identifying dialectal variation have however been made, e.g. Palmér (2021)
      observed a geographical distribution of the types of genitives employed.
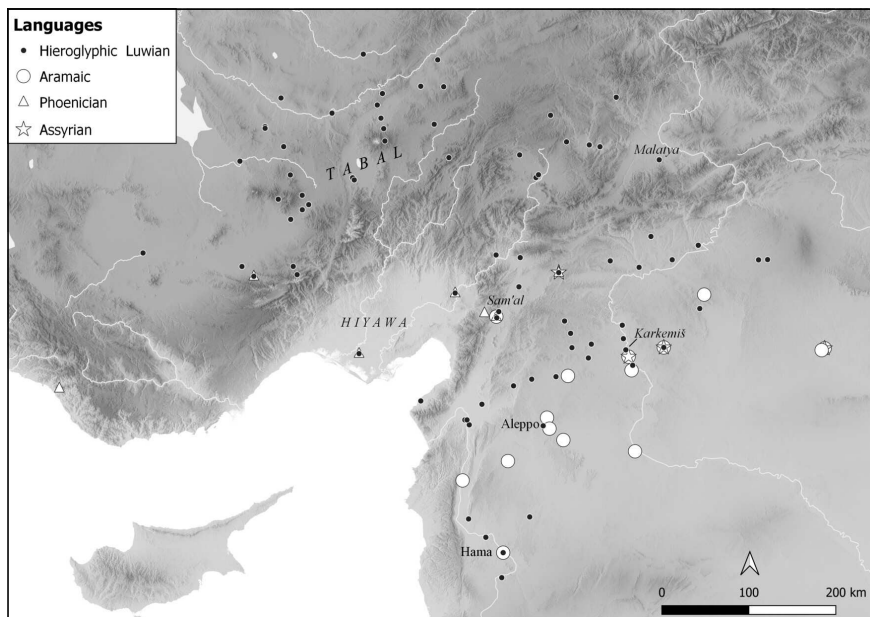
FIG. 3.2   Distribution of Iron Age inscriptions by languages

exist concerning the date of the texts, and the limited extension of the region in which the *local* syllabary appears to emerge makes it a rather localized phenomenon at best.[5]

If we consider the *external boundaries* of the area in which Luwian is employed, the internal consistency in the kind of code (combination of language and graphemics) is surprising: from west to east, from Türkmen-Karahöyük to Şekerli (about halfway between Adıyaman and Diyarbakır); and from north to south, from Çalapverdi (Yozgat province) to Hama in Syria (the RESTAN inscription, found outside of any recognizable archaeological context, certainly comes from the site of Hama). Such a large area entailed a number of interfaces that prompted interactions with other cultures and languages (Fig. 3.2). The mixing with the Aramaic element was typical of all the Syrian portion of the Luwian-writing regions, and phenomena of language-mixing emerge, for instance in the case of Yadiya/Sam'al (Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021b). Phoenician is also present in some areas, most notably Cilicia; outside of the Semitic world, the Urartian world borders with the eastern regions of Anatolia, and the Phrygian world borders with the central regions. Nonetheless, although some language

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5   CHLI I:460–461, D'Alfonso 2019:134–136. Cf. also CHLI III:298.

contact phenomena emerge in the sources, when Luwian is the target language these are generally limited to localized and sporadic borrowings of lexical items and grammatical structures. In other words, they do not significantly alter the considerable uniformity of Iron Age Luwian as a linguistic code.

This fact may be attributable to the strong interconnections among the different subregions of the Iron Age Luwian-writing areas of Anatolia and Syria, but this explanation appears overconfident at best. Even though both Central Anatolia and Northern Syria belonged to a cultural continuum, there appears to have been considerable geographical and cultural distance (e.g., between 8th century Hama and 8th century Kululu). More likely, Luwian was so consistent in this stage and area because we are dealing with a rather artificial diamesic variety of the language. This variety was based on epigraphic traditions codified in the Bronze and Dark Age that were mostly maintained because the epigraphic production was not a direct function of an evolving, living language. Of course, Luwian was probably spoken and alive in some of the areas (most likely in central Anatolia), but it would be a methodological mistake to posit that the spoken variety or varieties were the same as that employed for the monumental inscriptions.

The traces of language contact in Iron Age epigraphic Luwian will be discussed in Chapter 5. Before proceeding, however, the cultural and historical features of the areas involved must be illustrated in order to characterize the geo-historical context of the linguistic phenomena.

2   The Syro-Anatolian Area from the 10th Century until the Assyrian conquest

2.1   *The Luwian Area Proper*
2.1.1   Tabal and Malatya
In Cappadocia and the southern Anatolian plateau, the full Iron Age saw the emergence of a loose constellation of cantonal polities generally known as *Tabal* after the Assyrians (Fig. 2.3), in a process of political reorganization whose timing and modalities remain largely unclear. As emphasized in the previous chapter, fortified settlements and administrative structures suggestive of a complex socio-economic organization were already present in the Tabal area in the 11th century. The large grain silos discovered at Niğde-Kınık Höyük remained in use until the late 10th century, while the site itself continued to be inhabited and encircled by fortifications throughout the Middle Iron Age.[6] This urban reorganization went hand in hand with developments in

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6   Lanaro et al. 2020:216–217.

post-Hittite monumental art, whose earliest expression we may find by the early 9th century, if not earlier.[7] The 10th and 9th centuries also saw the areal expansion and intensification of interactions in central Anatolia chiefly suggested by the regional diffusion of prestigious figurative vessels of the Alişar IV type, seemingly circulated and used among elite groups on communal ritual occasions.[8]

The term *Tabal*, first attested in the 9th century BCE, is primarily an Assyrian designation with no precise geopolitical reference; in most cases it reflected a constellation of multiple polities extending to the west of the Antitaurus.[9] In scholarly usage, Tabal is generally understood to mean the region of central Anatolia featuring aspects of Syro-Anatolian culture, chiefly the use of Hieroglyphic Luwian and Syro-Anatolian monumental art. Based on these criteria, the eastern limits of Tabal are quite confidently set along the Antitaurus-Bolkardağ continuum, between the districts of Pınarbaşı (Kayseri) and Ereğli (Konya). It was likely on the northern stretches of this range that Shalmaneser III confronted the Tabalian king Tuatti in 836 BCE around the city of Artulu, perhaps identified with modern Kululu. This site was the findspot of several hieroglyphic inscriptions and Syro-Anatolian monuments. To the south, the kingdom of Tuwana, *Tuhana* in Assyrian, is firmly enclosed by local inscriptions and monuments within the Bor-Ereğli plain, giving access to the Cilician Gates that led across the Taurus to Hiyawa/Que. The best-known king of Tuwana is attested in local inscriptions as Warpalawa, *Urpalla* in Assyrian, who ruled in the late 8th century BCE. To the west of Tuwana, the unnamed kingdom of Hartapu/Kartapu was the westernmost Tabalian polity known so far. Between the lake Tuz Gölü and Mount Erciyes, we find a cluster of hieroglyphic inscriptions dedicated by Wasusarma, son of Tuwati, a contemporary of Tiglathpileser III (745–727 BCE) who knew him as *Uaššurme*. It is unclear how far north the Tabal cultural area spread. Most scholars would set a boundary on the upper and middle course of the Kızılırmak, but the finding of sporadic hieroglyphic inscriptions to the north of it (e.g., ÇALAPVERDİ 1–2) may suggest an extension up to the modern province of Yozgat.[10] Moreover, the late reappraisal of Syro-Anatolian monumental characters in the otherwise Phrygianizing site of Kerkenes Dağ, namely the use of figurative reliefs, statues in the round and the winged sun, may have been inspired by Tabalian models

7   Lanaro 2015; d'Alfonso 2020a.

8   D'Alfonso et al. 2022.

9   On the possible etymologies of Tabal and its relationship with the political landscapes of Iron Age central Anatolia, see d'Alfonso 2012 and Giusfredi et al. 2021.

10   Simon 2017a.

available in the neighboring area. Besides Syro-Anatolian art and Hieroglyphic Luwian, the Tabal area was also characterized by a broadly homogeneous material culture chiefly represented by dark monochrome geometric painted wares and, up to the 9th century, Alişar IV figurative wares. The spread of these features, however, was not limited to Tabal; it also involved other areas of central Anatolia, including Phrygian Gordion, and therefore should not be taken as proxies of Tabalian political control.

Rather than a top-down imposition from one political milieu over the other, the regional convergence reflected in cultural and social practices of the Tabal area was more likely the result of continuous competition and shifting allegiances within a fragmented political scenario, more directly documented by the textual records of the 9th–8th centuries. In this light, the term Tabal may reflect the Assyrian perception of a common areal background in central Anatolia in a way not dissimilar from how the term is intended by scholars today. When this term first occurred in the late 9th century inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, it was associated with a coalition of twenty-four kings faced by the Assyrians on their way across the Antitaurus. Similar leagues gathering multiple principalities are also documented in indigenous Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Tabal itself. The rock-cut inscription of TOPADA in northern Cappadocia tells of an alliance of three kings led by Wasusarma against the enigmatic polity of Parzuta (spelled *pa+ra/i-zu-ta_x*) and its own retinue of eight supporters.[11] Significantly, Wasusarma claims for himself and his father Tuwati the title of Great King, embedding it in the royal aedicula evocative of the Hittite imperial past. This evidence may actually reflect some form of hegemony of Wasusarma over neighboring regions. If so, the political influence of northern Tabal may have extended as far south as the Taurus, as Wasusarma lists among his allies Warpalawa, the ruler of Tuwana.[12] In turn, Tuwana may have been the head of a local hierarchy in its own region, as Warpalawa acted as the overlord of the *tar(ra)wanis* ('ruler') Tarhunaza according to the BULGAR-

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11   The traditional interpretation (see Weeden 2023, now also CHLI III:298), identifies Wasusarma with the king Uaššurme attested in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser III (mid-8th century BCE). Contrarily, d'Alfonso 2019 argues for dating TOPADA to the 10th century together with other related inscriptions (SUVASA, GÖSTESİN), based on paleographic and stylistic observations. The same article (144–145, with references to previous literature) also revisits the possible meaning of the toponym Parzuta, proposing a reading Prizu(wa)nda to be connected with Phrygia. For other interpretations, see Weeden 2010 and 2017; Simon 2020a.

12   See on this Simon 2013, whose hypothesis, however, is based strongly on hotly debated issues of historical geography (cf. Weeden 2017:726–731).

MADEN inscription, on the northern Taurus.[13] Another self-defined Great King is the Hartapu/Kartapu author of the inscription TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, who claims to have fought the country of Mus(a)ka and the combined force of thirteen kings.[14] A growing consensus would now identify this ruler with the Hartapu who dedicated the inscription of BURUNKAYA commemorating a military victory in the area.[15] Interestingly, this inscription lies just about 35 km southwest of Topada, and may thus connect the exploits of Hartapu with the events recounted by Wasusarma.[16]

During the 9th and 8th centuries, Anatolia became the focus of a tripartite competition between the three major regional powers of the time: Assyria, Urartu and Phrygia.[17] In 836 BCE, the Assyrian army entered Tabal for the first time under the leadership of Shalmaneser III. This venture resulted in the *una tantum* imposition of a tribute to Tabalian rulers and probably had an impact on the local power balance, but it did not lead to durable forms of Assyrian hegemony in the area. On this occasion, as in the successive campaign of 835, Shalmaneser III reached Tabal from the east after obtaining tribute from Malatya, at this time ruled by a certain Lalli, not attested elsewhere outside the Assyrian corpus.[18] In the decades straddling the turn of the 8th century, Urartu took advantage of the political crisis that befell Assyria after the death of Shalmaneser III, seeking to consolidate its peripheries and gaining a foothold in central and southeastern Anatolia. The Urartian kings Menua (ca. 810–780 BCE) and his son Argišti I (ca. 780–756) claim the conquest of the Hatti lands, indicating the general region west of the Euphrates, and Malatya. Argišti I likely refers explicitly to Tabal when mentioning tributes from the 'land of (the ruler) Tuate' (i.e., Tuwati), perhaps identical with the father of Wasusarma or a predecessor thereof.[19]

In the Hatti lands, Argišti I encountered a ruler named Hilaruada, likely identical with the namesake son of Šahu, king of Malatya submitted years later by Argišti's son Sarduri II (756–730 BCE). This time external information may be connected with the hieroglyphic evidence from Malatya itself, if we can identify Šahu with Sahwi, attested in ŞIRZI as the father of the Malatyan Country

13   CHLI I:521–525.

14   Goedegebuure et al. 2020. On the dating of TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 in relation to the remaining Hartapu's corpus, see Chapter 2.

15   CHLI I:429–442. On the issue of dating, see Goodegebuure et al. 2020; Hawkins and Weeden 2021; and Massa and Osborne 2022.

16   Massa and Osborne 2022:100–101; Weeden 2023:996–998.

17   Melville 2010; Adalı 2018.

18   Yamada 2000:210–217; Bryce 2012:107.

19   CTU A8–3 II, 15–16. Cf. Bryce 2012:142; Weeden 2023:995.

Lord Runtiya. Sahwi/Šahu may be the unnamed Malatyan king participating in the coalition led in the early 8th century by Bar-Hadad II of Damascus against Zakkur of Hama, during a conflict recorded in the so-called Zakkur stele (KAI 202).[20] Runtiya would have been a brother of Hilaruada, as suggested by Hawkins (CHLI I:323), or perhaps Hilaruada himself, as proposed by others on the basis of the shared theonym Runtiya = -*ruada* (e.g., Bryce 2012:108). At Arslantepe-Malatya, this period saw the arrangement of the famous Lion Gate, re-utilizing sculpted reliefs stripped from previous Early Iron Age monumental programs, possibly in a conscious attempt to reassert a local political identity.[21] The western, southern, and northern connections of this site attested in the historical record may find material manifestations in the Syrian, Anatolian and Urartian ceramic imports found in Middle Iron Age levels.[22]

The advent of Tiglathpileser III inaugurated a new phase of Assyrian expansion in the west. In 743, this king defeated a Urartian-led coalition involving Malatya, at this time ruled by Sulumal.[23] Malatya was thus submitted together with other Urartian allies, and became an Assyrian client. As of 738, Wasusarma/Uaššurme also starts to appear together with other Tabalian rulers among the regular Assyrian tributaries, thus suggesting that at this time Assyria had managed to reassert and maintain a hegemony in central Anatolia as well. Some years later, in 730, Wasusarma fell out of favor with Tiglathpileser III, who accused him of not paying the regular tribute and of 'behaving like an Assyrian.' Scholars believe that Tiglathpileser's irritation may have been caused by Wasusarma's hegemonic ambitions in central Anatolia, symbolized by his appropriation of the Great King title in TOPADA. As a result, Tiglathpileser III deposed Wasusarma and replaced him with Hulli, a 'son of nobody.'[24]

Assyrian direct interventions in the Tabalian political landscape intensified under Sargon II, when central Anatolia became a contested periphery between Assyria and the domain of Midas (Mita in the Assyrian sources), the king of Muški/ Phrygia.[25] In 718, Sargon II campaigned in Tabal to punish local defections toward Midas, and reinstated Hulli on the throne after he had been deposed and taken hostage in Assyria by Sargon's brother and predecessor Shalmaneser V. In doing so, Sargon II carved for Hulli a new domain called Bit Burutaš, later inherited by Hulli's son Ambaris. As a further strategy to consol-

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20   Bryce 2012:107. On Zakkur, see Younger 2016:476–486.
21   Manuelli and Mori 2016; Manuelli 2020; Weeden 2023:991.
22   Manuelli 2013:379, 381.
23   Weeden 2023:991, with references to the primary sources.
24   Weeden 2010 and 2017. But see Matessi (forthcoming) for a different view.
25   On this subject, see Weeden 2017.

idate the Assyrian foothold in central Anatolia, Sargon married Ambaris to his daughter, bringing as a dowry the domain of Hilakku in Rough Cilicia. In this way, a direct dependency of Assyria was wedged in between Tabal and Phrygia, a move that Sargon must have hoped would check Midas' interference with Assyrian affairs in Anatolia. This strategy, however, did not work: Ambaris plotted with Rusa I of Urartu and Midas to form an anti-Assyrian coalition, forcing Sargon to intervene again with his army in 713 to reassert Assyrian hegemony. Notwithstanding these political and military efforts, neither Tabal nor Bit Burutaš were ever completely annexed to the Assyrian Empire. A different fate befell Malatya, which was made a province in 711 after the subsequent defections to the Phrygian side attempted by the local kings Gunzinanu and Tarhunazi. The capital Arslantepe-Malatya became the seat of an Assyrian administration, archaeologically testified by the Assyrian palace of Period IIB.

2.1.2 Maraş

The principality of Gurgum (Luw. *Kurkuma-*), centered in Maraş, Assyrian Marqasu, and the surrounding plain (Fig. 2.3), is first recorded in the Banquet Stele of Ashurnasirpal II among the polities sending representatives at the celebrations for the construction of the new Assyrian royal palace at Kalhu (RIMA 2 A.0.101.30). The dynastic succession of Gurgum is one of the best known among Syro-Anatolian polities. In fact, thanks to detailed genealogies opening several epichoric Luwian inscriptions, we can reconstruct an almost complete sequence of 11 Gurgumean rulers.[26] On account of recently published MARAŞ 16 (Peker 2022), this sequence now includes Hunita and his son Larama III, that would fill—at least in part—a gap of about 60 years between Halparuntiya III and Tarhulara, known only from Assyrian sources. Correspondences between native and Assyrian records offer fixed chronological points for anchoring individual rulers and relating their activity with the general historical context. The earliest king of Gurgum to be attested in Assyrian sources is Mutallu, appearing as a tributary of Shalmaneser III in 858. Five years later, Shalmaneser III found another person on the Gurgumean throne, named Qalparunda. Due to the short time elapsed between the two encounters, there is little doubt that Qalparunda, corresponding to *Halparuntiya* in Luwian, was a direct successor of Mutallu (i.e., Muwattalli). A secure correspondence is thus established with the only matching succession known from the Maraş corpus (i.e., between

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26   To the dynasts considered by Bryce 2012:122–128, we must now add Hunita and his son Larama III after the finding and publication of MARAŞ 16: Peker 2022. These two rulers would fill—at least partially—the gap between Halparuntiya III and Tarhulara.

Muwattalli II and Halparuntiya II), allowing us to date the beginning of Halparuntiya's reign between 858 and 853 BCE. From this fixed point, we can move upward in the genealogical sequence provided by indigenous sources and, by counting generations, assign an approximate chronological range to each reign. With this rationale, the reign of Astuwalamanza, forefather of the Gurgumean dynastic line, can be dated to around the late 11th century BCE.[27]

The last attested Gurgumean rulers are Tarhulara and his son Mutallu (i.e., Muwattalli), known only from the Assyrian records as contemporaries of Tiglathpileser III and Sargon II. Unfortunately, no Bronze Age or Iron Age site in the Maraş area has been archaeologically investigated, and all known inscriptions have been found by chance during construction works or as a result of illicit digs.[28] Thus, apart from patchy information drawn from native textual records, next to nothing is known about socio-economic and cultural interactions involving Gurgum and their development from previous periods.

The earliest known Luwian inscription from Gurgum, dating to the mid-10th century BCE, was dedicated by Larama I, son of Muwattalli I and grandson of Astuwalamanza, to praise improvements in the local state economy granted by the colonization of new agricultural land (MARAŞ 8).[29] Interestingly, in this case neither Larama I nor his ancestors bear any title. However, in later inscriptions Larama I, as well as other successors, is referred to as a *tapariyalli* 'governor.' It is possible that over time, this title became fixed as a royal title *de facto* similar to Country Lord at Malatya, but, just like the latter, it may have originated as an honorific designation for rulers dependent on a superior authority.[30] The fact that most later genealogies mention Larama I as the first ancestor may indicate that Astuwalamanza and Muwattalli did not act as sovereign rulers, but rather as royal dignitaries of sorts on behalf of an unknown king.[31] In this case, Larama I may have attained power after a dynastic shift comparable to that documented at Karkemiš with the advent of the House of Suhi in the early 10th century.

Halparuntiya II in the mid-9th century was the first Gurgumean ruler to claim the title of *king* (MARAŞ 4). This change could be due to the influence

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27 CHLI I:250–252.
28 For surveys in the area and their results, see Carter et al. 1999; Swartz Dodd 2007; Konyar 2010.
29 CHLI I:252–255. The same genealogy for Larama I would also appear in the newly discovered inscription of Muwizi (MARAŞ 17), preliminarily reported by Denizhanoğullari et al. 2018.
30 Giusfredi 2010:194–107; d'Alfonso 2023.
31 But see now the summary report on Muwizi's inscription MARAŞ 17 (Denizhanoğullari et al. 2018), preserving a genealogy up to Astuwalamanza.

of kingship ideologies entertained in Assyria, of which Gurgum had become a tributary state by 858 BCE,[32] but can also be a means of exalting particular achievements considered worthy of royal status. In fact, MARAŞ 4 is among the few inscriptions of Gurgum celebrating the military deeds of the author, as Halparuntiya II praises his capture of various locales in the land of Hirika. The latter may point to an undefined region between Maraş and Elbistan, for a quasi-homophonous Hiliki is mentioned in IZGIN as a frontier of military expansion reached by Tara, Country Lord of Malatya.[33] However, suggested comparisons of both toponyms with Hilakku, the Assyrian name of Rough Cilicia, may be more persuasive depending on the reading of Muwizi's inscription (MARAŞ 17), where Hiliki reportedly appears coupled with Adana.[34] An offensive reaching as far as Rough Cilicia would not have been impossible for Halparuntiya II, as he could have been one of the 'kings of Hatti' who followed Shalmaneser III in his campaign to Que in 839 BCE (see below).[35] For the next decades, Gurgum continued to be a loyal vassal of Assyria, much like its eastern neighbor, Kummuh. In 805, in the course of a campaign against Arpad, Adad-nirari III settled a territorial dispute between the two client states with a boundary stele near the modern village of Pazarcık, on the southeastern fringes of the Maraş province. However, in 743, both Kummuh and Gurgum eventually tried to shake off the Assyrian yoke by joining the anti-Assyrian alliance led by Urartu and Arpad (743–740 BCE). Tiglathpileser III managed to crush the revolt, but kept the rebel Gurgumean—known as Tarhulara—on the throne, albeit forcing him to cede part of his territory to more trustworthy Assyrian allies.[36] Decades later, Tarhulara was again caught conspiring with the enemy, this time Midas of Muški (Phrygia), and was eventually assassinated by his own son, Mutallu. Sargon II removed the usurper and made Gurgum an Assyrian province in 711 BCE.

2.1.3   Cilicia

Due to the position of Cilicia at the crossroads between Anatolia and the Levant, and to its manifold interactions somehow involving all the linguistic areas addressed in this volume (Luwian, Semitic, and Aegean), this region has a special significance in the Iron Age cultural landscape of the eastern Mediter-

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32   D'Alfonso 2023.
33   CHLI I:251.
34   For the association Hilika/ Hirika-Hilakku, see CHLI I:127, fn. 9. The passage on Hilika and Adana of MARAŞ 17 is described only briefly by Denizhanoğullari et al. 2018.
35   Weeden 2023:968–969.
36   Especially Que, as documented by the İNCİRLİ stele.

ranean. This is why the historical and cultural frameworks of Iron Age Cilicia are addressed in this volume from many different angles. In the previous chapter, we considered social processes occurring in the region in the early post-Hittite period, before the formation of the polity known from indigenous Luwian sources as *Hiyawa* or *Adana(wa)*, and in Assyrian as the country of *Que*. This paragraph presents a synthetic overview on the full Iron Age evidence, aiming to provide a bridge between the previous treatment and the frameworks examined in further detail in Chapter 4 and section 6 of Chapter 10, chiefly devoted to the cultural and historical geography of Iron Age Cilicia and its possible Aegean connections, respectively.

The earliest known Iron Age attestation of Hiyawa and Adana(wa) occurs in the twin steles of Arsuz, dedicated in the 10th century by the Palastinean king Suppiluliuma (I), son of Manana, to commemorate his military victories in the Arsuz area (cf. §7: 'this city'), that is, the southern tip of the İskenderun Bay.[37] In this context, Hiyawa (*hi-ya-wa/i*) and Adana(wa) (*429(*TANA*)) figure as the other opponents of Suppiluliuma (§§11–14).[38] Interestingly, Adana(wa), corresponding to the modern city with this name (cf. Hitt. Adaniya) is designated as a 'city' (URBS) in ARSUZ 1 but as a 'land' (REGIO) in ARSUZ 2, whereas the only determinative preserved for Hiyawa—in ARSUZ 1—is the one for the 'land.' In all other Luwian attestations, dating to the 8th century BCE, Adanawa and Hiyawa are treated as quasi-synonyms and appear only as cities, likely to indicate the main urban components of a single regional unit. The alternated use of *land* determinatives for both toponyms in the Arsuz steles may suggest that in the 10th century, the two cities were still independent from each other as the capitals of two separate polities. Moreover, as noted by Melchert in this volume (Chapter 4) the phrasing of the passage in question suggests that Hiyawa and Adana were two different targets of Suppiluliuma's actions, which would also argue for splitting the two toponyms as two distinct territorial entities.

The recent discovery of another 10th century inscription (MARAŞ 17), so far only briefly summarized in a preliminary discussion, may add another piece to the geography of Cilicia in this period, as it reportedly mentions activities of the dedicator Muwizi of Gurgum around Adana and Hilika.[39] The latter toponym, and its possible variant *Hirika*, also appear as targets of expansionist ventures led by Malatya in the 11th century (IZGIN) and again by Gurgum around the

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37   Dinçol et al. 2015.

38   An alternative reading of *429 as a variant writing of Ahhiyawa, suggested by Oreshko (2018a:27–28), gained little credence among specialists (see also Chapter 4, section 1.1, in this volume).

39   Denizhanoğulları et al. 2018. Cf. also CHLI III:131.

mid-9th century (MARAŞ 4). Moreover, Hilika/ Hirika is often compared with Assyrian Hilakku, generally identified with Rough Cilicia. In 858 BCE, Hilakku appears as an ally of Que and some Syrian polities in a coalition confronted by Shalmaneser III. Two decades later (839 BCE), this same Assyrian king claims to have traversed the Amanus and descended into the land of Que, where he defeated a local ruler named Kate and conquered several cities attributed to his realm, including Kisuatni (cf. Hitt. Kizzuwatna) and Lusanda (cf. Hitt. Lawazantiya). On this occasion, Shalmaneser III also claims to have mustered against Que 'all the kings of Hatti' (RIMA 3 A.0.102.10 IV 23), clearly referring to the polities previously subjugated east of the Amanus range. This information is usually connected with the Phoenician inscription of Kulamuwa (KAI 24), where the author reports that he called for Assyrian support against the aggression of the king of the DNNYM. This term, in fact, would routinely recur in later Phoenician inscriptions from Cilicia as the designation for the people of the country referred to in Luwian as Hiyawa/Adanawa. Moreover, as suggested by Weeden (2023:969), Halparuntiya II of Gurgum may also have been among the kings of Hatti joining forces with Assyria, and his actions against Hilika/Hirika claimed in MARAŞ 4 may simply refer to this campaign.

When Shalmaneser III returned to Cilicia in the successive campaigns of the years 833–831 BCE, he again submitted Kate of Que and another ruler, Tulli, associated with the city of Tanakun. This latter may well have been an independent ruler active in Cilicia, as suggested by Weeden (2023:972), but the adjective Quean, referring to Kate, is preceded by the determinative KUR, whereas Tanakun is referred to only as a city. This situation would rather suggest that Tulli was the lord of an individual settlement serving as a vassal of Kate, in a relationship possibly similar to that attested one century later between Awariku and Azatiwada. Eventually, in 831 BCE Shalmaneser III reached Tarzu (i.e., Tarsus), where he appointed Kirri, the brother of Kate, as a local petty ruler.

In the 8th century, we begin to see inscriptions left by native Cilician rulers, written in Phoenician and Luwian both as bilingual or monolingual texts— or even trilingual, including Assyrian, in the case of İNCİRLİ. The longest and most famous text in this corpus is the Luwo-Phoenician bilingual inscription of KARATEPE, dedicated by Azatiwada on the monumental gate of the eponymous fortress that he had founded with the name of Azatiwadaya after himself.[40] In this inscription, Azatiwada, who bears no titles, claims to have acted with the favor of Awariku (Luw. *á-wa/i-ra/i-ku-sa*; Phoen. *'WRK*), king of Adanawa, corresponding in Phoenician to *'DN* (the city/country) and *DNNYM*

40   CHLI II; CHLI I:38–71.

(the people). The date of this inscription and its associated monumental complex has been long debated, but recent assessments combining iconographic, archaeological, historical and philological evaluations seem to agree on an earlier date than previously assumed, that is, to around the early/mid-8th century BCE instead of the early 7th century.[41]

According to this reassessment, the Awariku of KARATEPE would be the same as the one mentioned in the fragmentary Phoenician inscription of Hasanbeyli, considered slightly earlier than KARATEPE on paleographic grounds.[42] In any case, both inscriptions would precede the subordination of Que to Assyria, dated to 743 BCE based on Tiglathpileser III's tributaries lists, and would thus pre-date the Luwo-Phoenician bilingual of ÇİNEKÖY, featuring on a colossal statue of the Storm God found in the eponymous village south of Adana. The author of this latter inscription is Warika, king of Hiyawa/*DNNYM* (Luw. *wa/i+ra/i-ka-sa*; Phoen. *w* [...]), who praises himself for having extended his dominion across the whole plain with the blessing of the Assyrian king, defined as a 'father and mother' to Warika. The bond between Hiyawa and Assyria is further stressed by declaring that the two polities were made 'a single house.' It has been observed that, unlike the reliefs of Karatepe, the Çineköy statue displays clear Assyrian artistic influences, suggesting a stylistic subservience parallel to the political one reflected in the text.[43] On this account, this inscription should be dated to after 743 BCE, but before the full annexation of Que as a province of the Assyrian Empire, which likely occurred in the last quarter of the 8th century BCE.

A king named Warika (*WRYKS*), affiliated to the land of Que (*QW*) and the *DNNYM*, also appears as the author of the İNCİRLİ trilingual, issued to celebrate the donation by the Assyrian king Tiglathpileser III of a border territory with the nearby country of Gurgum.[44] ÇİNEKÖY and İNCİRLİ would thus chronologically fit together in the period of Quean subservience to Assyria, and there is indeed a general agreement that the author of both inscriptions is the selfsame Warika.[45] However, it is less clear how this chronological picture may be made to accommodate another reference to a king Warika, contained in the Phoenician inscription of Cebelireis Dağı, in Rough Cilicia.[46] If we accept

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41   Novák 2021. For the later date, see CHLI I:44–45 and Simon 2014a.

42   Lemaire 1983. If so, the alliance between Hiyawa and Assyria seemingly referred to in this text should be connected with a campaign of Aššur-dan III in Syria around 760 BCE: see Simon 2014a:99 (based on Lipiński 2004:118) and Novák 2021:408.

43   Novák 2021:419.

44   Only the Phoenician version has been published: Kaufmann 2007.

45   Simon 2014a:101; Novák 2021:409, with references to previous literature.

46   Mosca and Russel 1987; Giusfredi 2024.

the paleographic date to the late 7th century BCE proposed by the editors, we should account for a later Warika ruling in Cilicia, under circumstances that remain poorly understood. The issue is further complicated by strong disagreement that persists about whether Warika and Awariku ought to be equated as two different spellings of the same name, or separated as different names/persons.[47]

As arguable from the above references, the native inscriptions of Cilicia provide an array of names for the country attributed to the king(s) attested, not only depending on the language. Looking at the Luwian versions, KARATEPE has Adana(wa), whereas ÇİNEKÖY maintains Hiyawa. In Phoenician, the situation is even more complex, as there are references to Adana (KARATEPE, Hasanbeyli: ʾDN), the DNNYM (KARATEPE, ÇİNEKÖY, İNCİRLİ) and Que (İNCİRLİ). In Cebelireis Dağı there is mention of a toponym KW, although this is disconnected from the king's name and thus does not necessarily designate the country. This place is perhaps identical with the Kawa of KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 7, but should likely be kept distinct from Que.[48] On the background of this apparent geographic diversity, the ruler(s) dedicating these inscriptions consistently claim a common dynastic descent from Muksa, a name that through its Phoenician rendering MPŠ has generally been connected with Mopsus, the seer of the Greek legends (Chapter 10).

As mentioned above, Que became a client of Assyria around the mid-8th century, and by 743 BCE it is regularly attested among the tributaries of Tiglathpileser III. As we know from the İNCİRLİ inscription,[49] the king of Que remained loyal to Tiglathpileser III during the conflict with Mati-El of Arpad (743–740 BCE), being rewarded with new territories on the Amanus region. This new arrangement was likely made at the expense of the neighboring kingdom of Gurgum, as punishment for having sided with the enemy under the rebellious ruler Tarhulara (see above). Throughout the 8th century, the only king consistently associated with Que in Assyrian sources is Urik(ki), which presents phonetic resemblance with both Awariku and Warika. Irrespective of the views regarding the number of individuals behind these names, we cannot discount the possibility they were perceived as one by the Assyrians and thus conflated in the form Urik(ki). After Tiglathpileser III, the next Assyrian references to Que date to the reign of Sargon II, when the region figures already as an Assyrian province entrusted to the Assyrian governor Aššur-šarru-uṣur. We do not know exactly when the annexation occurred, but it was most probably during

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47   Simon 2014a; Payne 2015:189–190; Novák 2021:410–412. See also Chapter 5 in this volume.
48   See discussion in Chapter 4.
49   Only the Phoenician version of this inscription is published: Kaufmann 2007.

the poorly documented (and short-lived) reign of Sargon's predecessor, Shalmaneser V (727–722 BCE).[50] In 715 BCE, Sargon II led a successful campaign to Que to repulse the attack of Midas of Phrygia/Muški, who had invaded the region; about five years later, the governor of Que Aššur-šarru-uṣur apparently managed to push the enemy back beyond the Taurus. Phrygia convened with Assyria on a peace agreement and in a retrospective account contained in a royal letter to Aššur-šarru-uṣur, Sargon praises Midas for the capture of 14 Quean envoys whom Urik(ki) was sending to Urartu, archenemy of Assyria. In the course of these events, Assyrian control had reached to the west of Plain Cilicia, and Sargon II donated Hilakku to Ambaris of Bit-Burutaš (713 BCE).

2.2   *The Luwo-Semitic Interface Area*

2.2.1   The Euphrates Area

During the Iron Age proper, which begins roughly at the second half of the 10th century BCE, the Syro-Anatolian area of the Middle Euphrates would eventually be divided into three different kingdoms: Karkemiš, Kummuh, and Masuwari/Bit Adini (Fig. 2.3). Moving north to the Upper Euphrates, the kingdom of Malatya, whose status has been unclear (to say the least) during the Dark Age, would be independent, although during the 8th century the king of Karkemiš, Kamani, regained control over it for a time, or at least claimed to have done so in a pair of hieroglyphic inscriptions (CEKKE § 6, possibly also KARKAMIŠ A31+ § 1).[51]

Moving south, data regarding the kingdom of Kummuh are limited to the 9th and 8th centuries, and little has changed after Hawkins's historical synthesis (CHLI I:331–332). A king Hattusili I paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III in the 860s and 850s, but no hieroglyphic sources can be dated to this early stage. Between the end of the 9th century and the first quarter of the 8th, another king, Ušpilulme, is mentioned in the Assyrian sources. He is probably to be identified with the PURUS.FONS-*MI* (Suppiluliuma) mentioned in the Luwian inscriptions of BOYBEYPINARI 1 and 2, and appears already to have been under the protection of the Assyrian kings at the time of Adad-nirari III. The same hieroglyphic inscriptions also mention Suppiluliuma's wife, Panamuwatti, and their son Hattusili, who (obviously) is *not* the same person as the Qatazilu who must have lived a century earlier.

As for Masuwari/Bit Adini, its history as an independent kingdom was unusually short, being destroyed by the Assyrians as early as the 850s under Shal-

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50   Lanfranchi 2005:486–494; Bagg 2011:231–232; Gabrieli 2021:336.

51   CHLI I:140–151; Peker 2016:47.

maneser III.[52] Accordingly, the surviving hieroglyphic sources all go back to the late 10th and early 9th centuries, and belong to what have been described as two distinct competing dynasties (CHLI I:224–226), both predating the ruler Ahuni who would unsuccessfully face the Assyrians a few decades later. The members of the first dynastic series appear to bear culturally (if not strictly linguistically[53]) Luwian names (Ariyahina and Hapatila), whereas the name Hamiyata, recurring in the second series, may be a Semitic one.[54] Of course, because the kingdom is deep within the heart of the area occupied by the mixed Syro-Anatolian culture, one should refrain from assuming that the difference in the onomastics of two dynasties—of which we know only a few generations—have ethnolinguistic implications. Nonetheless, it would be equally inadequate to refrain from observing that this superficial evidence for multilingualism for the Euphrates region emerges here alone, whereas the other kingdoms of Karkemiš, Kummuh, and Malatya appear to have maintained Luwian and the Anatolian hieroglyphs, respectively, as the language and script of power.

Apart from the short-lived kingdom of Masuwari/Bit Adini, data from the Euphrates region continue to emerge for the two kingdoms of Malatya and Kummuh. These may—and should, at this stage—be compared with those regarding Karkemiš, for which new epigraphic material has enabled some advancement in the past few years. These documents convey the impression that the former Hittite vice-kingdom still maintained some sort of preeminence and dominance in the region.

Here it would be unproductive to dwell on Peker's (2016) hypotheses of identification—which vary in strength—of new Karkemisean rulers: new names have emerged that were unknown at the time the CHLI I was published, and we may or may not have identified all rulers of the Iron Age dynasties. More interesting is the problem of the relationships between the kingdom of Karkemiš and surrounding polities before the final Assyrian conquest of the region. Apparently, Kummuh, Malatya and Karkemiš all survived the military crises of the mid-9th century—which resulted, on the contrary, in the final defeat of Masuwari/Til Barsip by the troops of Shalmaneser III. At this stage, Kummuh's king Hattusili (Qatazilu) paid tribute to the powerful enemy,[55] and so did the king of Malatya, Lalli, as well as—at least initially—king Sangara of Karkemiš (the Sakara of the KH.15.O.690 inscription; see Peker 2016:47). The sit-

52   RIMA 3 A.0.102.2 i 30–40, ii 14–20; A.0.102.10 ii 30–40.

53   See Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2022 for a discussion of these names as well as of the problem of relic of the Hurrian language in Iron Age Luwian onomastics.

54   Further discussion in Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2022:195.

55   RIMA 3 A.0.102.2 i 37; A.0.102.10 ii 39.

uation remained largely unchanged after the 850s: the three kingdoms appear to have continued facing Assyrian campaigns, and the houses of Sangara in Karkemiš and Hattusili in Kummuh survived into the next century.

The middle decades of the 8th century brought a new military crisis to the northern regions of the Syro-Anatolian world, with the Assyrians facing an alliance led by the kings of Urartu and Arpad, which included a number of smaller kingdoms, such as Malatya and Kummuh, and probably Karkemiš as well, even though the name of the latter is not preserved in the damaged text that describes Tiglathpileser III's victorious campaign of 743 BCE. Interestingly, however, the Assyrian sources do confirm that the Assyrian invaders perceived Malatya[56] as an autonomous kingdom, which would quite evidently contradict the claim made by king Kamani of Karkemiš, whose texts (especially in CEKKE) suggest that he ruled over both countries. Kamani probably ruled during the first half of the 8th century, so it is theoretically possible that he had conquered Malatya during his life and that his successor lost it by the time Tiglathpileser fought in the region during the 740s. However, a Karkemisean conquest of Malatya even during the early 8th century would appear problematic in light of the apparent independence of Kummuh, whose territory separates Karkemiš and Malatya and whose kings Suppiluliuma (II, mentioned in BOYBEYPINARI 1 and 2) and Kuštašpi (mentioned only by the Assyrian sources)[57] form a seemingly uninterrupted sequence between the early 770s and the late 740s.

The apparent contradiction is quite typical of a phase of history for which we possess only the superficial accounts of high-level, official documentations. The Aramaean and Luwian rulers' texts naturally convey a great deal of propaganda and frequently boast about exaggerated accomplishments. Despite the ultimate success of the Assyrians, who will indeed complete a virtually total conquest of the Middle and Upper Euphrates region by the end of the 8th century under Sargon II, it is not unlikely that the Mesopotamian sources exaggerated the successes of the kings of Assyria, as well.

Although the impossibility of reconstructing a full, detailed history for this region is not particularly problematic for the purpose of the present chapter, it is important to stress that we rely almost exclusively on royal and official inscriptions on all sides of the events, relaying conflicts and alliances that characterize the full Iron Age in the area under discussion. This situation may have some consequences for the way we represent the linguistic scenario. First of all, one should certainly refrain from assuming that, for instance, the *population* of

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56   RINAP 1 9:4′; 14:12; 27:5; 32:5; 35 i 24, iii 9; 36:3′; 47 obv. 45, rev. 8; 54:10.

57   RINAP 1 11:7′; 14:10; 27:2; 31:9; 32:1; 35 iii 3; 47 obv. 46, rev. 7′.

Masuwari/Til Barsip was composed of Aramaeans as opposed to Luwian peoples who inhabited Karkemiš, Malatya and Kummuh. The population of the area was probably a mix of Anatolian and Semitic components, and unless evidence emerges that points to a different scenario, we should limit ourselves to assuming that both languages were spoken in all kingdoms.[58] On the other hand, that the rulers of Karkemiš apparently chose to maintain Hieroglyphic Luwian as the exclusive tool to communicate power is likely a consequence of the center's great importance during the Final Bronze Age as a southern capital of the Hittite Empire. The same happened in Malatya and Kummuh as a likely consequence of the fact that these territories were under Karkemišean influence during at least part of the Dark Age. As for the rulers of Masuwari/Til Barsip, they probably made the same choice as early as the 10th and early 9th centuries, but if a transition to a different representation of the local identity produced an Aramaization of the official sources, this must have depended on local political factors or micro-historical events that are not visible in the preserved sources.

2.2.2 Zincirli

The kingdom of Yadiya (Sam'al for the Assyrians), with its capital city corresponding to the modern site of Zincirli, lies approximately 70 km to the west of modern Gaziantep (Fig. 2.3). Because of its unique position, this small kingdom was located slightly too far to the north to be described as part of the Amuq region, slightly too far to the west to belong to the Euphrates region, and was separated from Plain Cilicia by the mountains.

Yadiya's documentary history possibly goes back to the late 10th century, if the fragmentary Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of PANCARLI is indeed as early as that. The PANCARLI text has been described as possibly dating back to the reign of king *GBR*, mentioned in later sources, but there is in fact no real reason to believe this attribution. The text is assumed to be earlier than the other inscriptions from the area, and *GBR* is the only name of a king we know who *may* have ruled during the 10th century. However, *GBR*'s fourth successor, *KLMW*, was the first ruler who certainly dictated a text that is available to us. His famous inscription contains a memorial text that refers to a social reform that he would have imposed during his reign, apparently vindicating a part of the population that used to be mistreated under his predecessors. It

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58   An oft-quoted piece of indirect evidence showing that the notion of multilingualism existed in Karkemiš is regent Yariri's claim to have mastered 12 languages and several writing systems (including cuneiform, Phoenician, and possibly Aramaic), in KARKAMIŠ A15b §§19–20 (CHLI I:131).

is quite possible that the two components of the kingdom's demographic—referred to as *MŠKBM* and *BRRM,* respectively—are to be identified with two different cultural groups, as proposed by Giusfredi and Pisaniello (2021). What is certain, however, is that the cultural and linguistic environment in Yadiya was quite complex. *KLMW*'s name is Luwian, but it is unlikely to be his birth name, because the sources give us the name of a number of his relatives (and even a sibling), all of whom bear Semitic names. Two of the later members of his dynasty, *PNMW* I and *PNMW* II, also bear Luwian names, but others—including the last king, Bar-Rākib—still bear Semitic ones. Beside onomastics, the Yadiya inscriptions themselves are recorded into four different languages and with three different scripts. We have already mentioned the Hieroglyphic Luwian stele from Pancarlı, which is the only linguistically Anatolian document (if one does not count a few small inscribed objects that date to the reign of Bar-Rākib, during the 8th century BCE). *KLMW*'s text, on the other hand, is composed in Phoenician, a choice that appears more likely to have hinged on the prestige of the language, and less so on the relationships between Yadiya and Cilicia—for the king of the *DNNYM* is mentioned as an enemy in the inscription, while the king of Assyria is mentioned as an ally (even though *KLMW*'s claim to having hired the Assyrians is clearly not reliable).[59] As for the texts composed in Aramaic, those dictated by the kings *PNMW* I and *PNMW* II are written in a local dialect, the so-called *Sam'alian*, which may have undergone grammatical interference from Luwian, whereas those by the last king, Bar-Rākib, are written in standard Aramaic.[60]

From a political perspective, we know little of the origins of the kingdom; most of the hypotheses regarding the PANCARLI fragment are speculative, and we are not even entirely certain that it was, indeed, a royal inscription in the first place. What we do know is that as early as the 9th century, when Shalmaneser III raided Til Barsip and submitted several kings of the Euphrates region, *KLMW*'s father (the *Hayyanu* in cuneiform Assyrian) also submitted to the Assyrian king and paid tribute, a bond that was strengthened during the reign of *PNMW* II, who fought alongside Tiglathpileser III at the siege of Damascus in the 730s, and under *PNMW*'s son Bar-Rākib.[61] After Bar-Rākib's death in the 710s, Yadiya ceased to exist as an autonomous kingdom and was made an Assyrian province by Sargon.

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59   KAI 24:7–8.

60   See Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021b for further discussion and extensive references to previous scholarship.

61   RIMA 3 A.0.102.2i 53; KAI 215:16–18; RINAP 1 14:12; 27:4; 35: iii 17; 47 rev. 8.

2.2.3   Amuq

The history of the Amuq after the end of the Late Bronze Age coincides with
that of the recently discovered kingdom of Palastin, which was presented in the
previous chapter (Chapter 2, Section 4.2). Because most of the current scholarly
discussion regards the earlier stages of Taita's dynasty and how the different
members of the royal family should be distributed in the different centuries,
we preferred to also include the few pieces of information we possess about
the later kingdom of Pa(t)tina/Unqi in the same chapter, instead of splitting
the topic into two different sections.

2.2.4   Hama

The Iron Age history of Hama until the 10th century remains largely unknown.
The possibility that it was temporarily under the control of the kings of Palastin,
as well as the mytho-historical reference to a king To'i in the Bible, have been
discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 2, Section 4.2).

Moving on to the direct historical sources, however, the first evidence we
have of a local dynasty dates back to the 9th century BCE, when Urahilana—
mentioned in a number of local Hieroglyphic Luwian sources—can be easily
identified with the Irhuleni who features among the kings who opposed Shal-
maneser III's army in the mid-850s. Urahilana's father, Parata, must have ruled
during the first decades of the same century and no earlier than that. Because
he is mentioned only in his son's texts, we have no further information regard-
ing his genealogy, and the 10th century history of the kingdom remains mostly
obscure. Urahilana's son, Uratammi,[62] clearly ruled in the final decades of the
9th century, a period for which the Assyrian sources are not as generous as they
will be during the early 8th century, when King Zakkur and his successors will
be mentioned as trusted allies of Assyria, at least until the rebellion of the last
local ruler, Yaubi'di, against Sargon II.[63]

Hawkins's assumption (CHLI 1:400), that Zakkur and his successors be-
longed to a dynasty different from the one that had composed Luwian texts in
the previous century is not necessarily correct. Although it is true that there was
a change in the official onomastics of the rulers and in the language and script
of power, the better-known history of Yadiya testifies to the fact that rulers with
ethnolinguistically different names could belong to the very same family and
choose different languages to dictate their inscriptions.

The comparison between Hama and Yadiya is quite fitting, because these
are the two kingdoms that exhibit the most visible cases of mixing of what

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62   Mentioned in HAMA 4 and HAMA 1–3, respectively.

63   RINAP 2 7:33.

once would have been described as a Semitic linguistic culture with a Luwian one. Although the balance of the sources is somewhat asymmetrical, with a prevalence of Semitic inscriptions in Yadiya and a prevalence of Luwian ones in Hama, similarities are numerous. In both kingdoms we find alternating royal anthroponyms, mixed relationships with Assyria and with the surrounding polities, and, as we will illustrate in the next chapter, evidence for language contact not limited to lexical loans, but that appears to involve some degree of grammatical interference between Semitic and Anatolian.

2.3   *After the Syro-Anatolian Era: A Note on Anatolians in Assyria and Babylonia in the 7th and 6th Centuries BCE*

Although the exact date cannot be established—and likely does not even exist per se—one can place the end of the era of the Syro-Anatolian polities somewhere between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century BCE, with the expansion of the Assyrian empire and the growth of the Phrygian kingdom (see below, Section 3). Some polities may have survived longer, as was proposed by Simon in the case of the kingdom of Hiyawa (Simon 2021a), and occasional episodes of rebellions against Assyria involving former Syro-Anatolian areas, cities, or people bearing Anatolian names (such as Mugallu, a lord from Malatya who rebelled against Esarhaddon and had apparently become the king of a larger kingdom in Tabal during Ashurbanipal's reign). Nonetheless, these late developments are easily explained by the fact that the end of a political situation does not imply the immediate erasure of cultural or linguistic traits among the population of the affected area: elements of Syro-Anatolian culture certainly survived the Assyrian conquest and the rise of the Phrygians—although, of course, due to the impact of Assyria, it was destined to gradually change and eventually disappear over time.

At any rate, and with all possible caveats, the consequences of Assyria's full-fledged expansionist policy in the final century of its history (roughly between the reign of Tiglathpileser III and the fall of Nineveh) are well-known. Former independent kingdoms became provinces of an empire whose structural engine and main mean of production of wealth was the very army itself. Although it would be unproductive to dwell here on the socio-political and socio-economic features of this grand renovation of the Near East, for the purpose of the present work it is relevant to describe the consequences of the Assyrian expansion. These have been frequently emphasized by historians, who focused on the new geopolitics, culture—and, consequently, linguistic geography—of the areas where Anatolian languages were used, at least as a written medium.

As always, assessing the available sources alone would paint a misleading picture. Culturally speaking, the Neo-Assyrian Empire is but another expression of an Akkadian-speaking and cuneiform-writing culture. A closer examination will, of course, highlight the increasing relevance of Aramaic as a spoken language throughout the territories of the Empire, or, at the very least, throughout the core areas of Syria and Mesopotamia. Now, the visible part of the process is the Aramaization of the imperial elite. In all likelihood, this process reflected the Aramaization of Syro-Mesopotamia as a general trend, which is a much less visible phenomenon because Akkadian remained, quite explicitly, the official written language of the kingdom. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the emergence of West Semitic elements such as Aramaeans and Chaldeans in Assyria and Babylonia was gradual and occurred in the *longue durée*, and its effects become apparent only when a change in the polities that produced documentation make it possible for it to be represented (albeit opaquely) in the sources.

Aramaeans, however, were but one of the main cultural and linguistic components shaping the human geography of the Ancient Near East in the first millennium BCE. In particular, northern Syria had long been part of what has been characterized by Osborne (2021), as well as by the present work (albeit in slightly different terms), as a Syro-Anatolian cultural continuum that covered a large area. The Anatolian component of this continuum, represented by Luwian-speaking (or, at least, Luwian-writing) polities, although destined to gradually die out over the centuries, certainly did not vanish as soon as the last Syro-Anatolian kingdom was conquered by Assyria.

Indeed, Assyrian as well as Babylonian administrative records mention several individuals with Anatolian names (Zadok 2005 and 2010; Waerzeggers 2006). Starting with the names attested in the Assyrian records, some observations are in order regarding the methodology employed to identify them. Zadok (2010) considers "certainly Anatolian" both the bearers of names that are formally Luwian, such as *Sandapiya* (Sa-an-da-pi-i) or *Tarhuntapiya* (Tar-hu-un-da-pi-i), and those who bear a supposed *name* that is in fact an Assyrian geographical adjective referring to a Luwian area, such as *Quayyu* (Qu-u-a-a), *Gargamisayyu* (Gar-ga-mis-a-a), or *Tabalayyu* (Ta-bal-a-a; Tab-URU-a-a).[64] Now, it would be superfluous to insist again on the difference between the language of origin of the name a person bears and the their ethnolinguistic identity, as we introduced this issue already in Chapter 4 of Volume 1. In this case, however, formal issues also apply, which, in turn, have sociolinguistic and

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64   Zadok 1997 and 2010.

historical implications. The formal part of the problem is that, from a linguistic perspective, a name like *Sandapiya* is a Luwian linguistic sign, whereas a name *Quayyu* is an Assyrian one. This, in turn, prompts the following questions: Are names like *Quayyu*, *Gargamisayyu*, or *Tabalayyu* truly personal names? Or are they general designations used to identify people by provenance for administrative purposes? If they are personal names, they are clearly Assyrian ones. If, on the other hand, they are geographical designations, then they simply indicate that a certain individual was originally from Que, Karkemiš, or the Tabal region (or, even less compellingly, that said individual entertained some sort of relationship with the relevant region). Of course, this does not imply that these people were Anatolians; by the 7th century BCE, we have every reasons to believe that the population of the former Syro-Anatolian and Anatolian kingdoms was a combination of Anatolian and Semitic elements, even more so than before. Anatolians are also mentioned in the archives of the Neo-Babylonian kingdom, as well as in the Mesopotamian administrative documents of the Achaemenid age, although most of the evidence for these stages involves Carians (or, rather, people from Caria), whereas evidence for eastern Luwian onomastics is not prevalent in the corpora that were discussed in the literature.[65] Furthermore, in most cases, reference is made to people by using a geographical designation, whereas the number of etymologically Anatolian (Carian) names is extremely limited.[66]

Unsurprisingly, Anatolians who are mentioned in Mesopotamian texts after the end of the Syro-Anatolian age, and until the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid ages, appear to be members of the societies of the late Iron Age empires. The survival of onomastic material does not imply the survival of a Luwian language and culture after the end of the age of the kingdoms that were formerly called *Neo-Hittite*, while the presence of individuals and groups from western Anatolia is merely an indication of the multicultural composition of the demographics of the late Mesopotamian empires.

3   The Phrygian Area

Through the 9th and 8th centuries BCE, Phrygia emerged as the main regional political entity in Anatolia (Fig. 2.3), arriving at competing on equal terms with Assyria and Urartu for supremacy in the area.[67] The designations *Phrygia* and

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65   Joannès 1991; Zadok 2005; Waerzeggers 2006.
66   Cf. Zadok 2005:80–83.
67   For a recent overview on the subject, see Payne 2023a.

Phrygians, as they are known today, derive from Greek sources (Φρυγία, -ας; Φρύξ, -ὔγος) and referred to the land and people living in northwestern central Anatolia, between the lower Kızılırmak, the Sakarya river basin (Classical Sangarios) and the Troad. According to the *Iliad* (2.816–877), the Phrygians were the eastern allies of the Trojans, and Hecuba, the wife of Priam, was a Phrygian. Herodotus (7.73) and his quasi-contemporary Xanthos of Lydia (cited by Strabo, 12.8.3) agree that the Phrygians came from southeastern Europe. Herodotus also adds that, according to the Macedonians, the Phrygians were called Βρίγες in their homeland, but then changed their name to Φρύγες after settling in Anatolia. By contrast, other Greek traditions saw the Phrygians as autochthonous in Anatolia.[68] The Phrygian king Midas is certainly the most famous Phrygian figure, immortalized by Greek legends about his *golden touch* or the ass's ears received as a punishment by Apollo for not adequately appreciating the deity's musical skills.

As these few examples show, most Greek accounts of the Phrygians are shrouded in myth, and thus offer very few clues for a reliable historical reconstruction. We would know nearly nothing about Midas as a historical personage without the Assyrian inscriptions of Sargon II, who mentions him as *Mita*, Assyria's main political competitor in Anatolia. This identification would thus provide a chronological placement for Midas's reign in the late 8th century BCE. Moreover, we also learn that the Assyrian name of the country of Phrygia was Muš/ski, which in turn may correspond to Urartian Muškini, Mus(a)ka in Luwian, and Mešek in the Bible.[69]

These external sources provide vital historical information that we could hardly obtain from native Phrygian records alone, which are known to exist from the late 9th century. The most ancient corpus of Phrygian inscriptions, known as *Old Phrygian* (late 9th–4th centuries BCE), was written in a local alphabet, readapted with the introduction of vocalization from West Semitic abjads. From this epigraphic material we learn that Phrygian was an Indo-European language, as most other coeval languages attested in Anatolia, but did not belong to the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European family, instead showing closest relations with Greek. This finding would thus support Herodotean claims about the intrusiveness of the Phrygians in Anatolia, out of migrations from the Balkans. Besides their invaluable linguistic contribution, however, Old Phrygian inscriptions offer very little historical information on the people who left them. To begin with, nothing is known from these texts about ethnic or

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68   Drews 1993:15–18.
69   Wittke 2004.

political self-definitions used by the Phrygians themselves. Also, few names of Phrygian rulers are preserved beyond that of Midas, famously appearing on top of the so-called *Midas Monument* at Yazılıkaya/Midas City.[70] Monumental inscriptions on stone are indeed some of the best-preserved and most informative texts about Phrygian society, but they consist mostly of short dedications with few formulaic expressions, personal names and often obscure titles. Otherwise, the rest of the Old Phrygian corpus is represented mainly by graffiti on pottery or other supports, meant to mark the ownership of related objects.

3.1   *The Phrygians according to Phrygian Data*

Given the documentary situation summarized above, the Phrygian language should be considered first when identifying elements of Phrygian culture in the Anatolian landscape. In turn, the archaeological context of locales with a particular concentration of Phrygian inscriptions allows us to identify the most salient non-scribal features somehow associable to a Phrygian socio-cultural complex. The label *Phrygian*, in this case, must be intended in a broad discursive sense, with no necessary implication referring to ethnic, linguistic or political affiliations. By far the largest corpus of Old Phrygian inscriptions is found in the area of Gordion, the most important Phrygian city of the Iron Age known so far.[71] The site, corresponding to the mound of Yassıhöyük, was identified in the late 19th century CE as the seat of the Phrygian capital known by the Greeks as Gordion.[72] As we have seen in the previous chapter (Section 3), this site was already occupied during the Bronze Age, and its transition to the Early Iron Age is marked by a stark discontinuity affecting both architecture and material assemblages (12th–10th centuries BCE: YHSS 7B–A). The observation of these sudden cultural changes, coupled with the geographic range of suggested stylistic parallels, led scholars to suppose that during this phase Gordion was settled by immigrants coming from the Balkans and Thrace, thus lending further support to ancient accounts of the Phrygian migration. Whereas the layout of level YHSS 7B is indicative of a village community, the later phases of the Early Iron Age (YHSS 7A), covering the second half of the 10th century, saw the emergence of more complex forms of social organization, including the construction of fortification systems and large-scale production of wheel-made pottery.

These developments would continue in later phases and in fact anticipate the so-called *Early Phrygian period* (YHSS 6), when social life at Gordion took

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70   Obrador-Cursach 2020a:427, no. M-01a, with references to previous literature.

71   For an updated and detailed overview on the site, see Kealhofer et al. 2022.

72   Körte 1897. For the attestation of the place name Gordion in a late Old Phrygian inscription, see Oreshko and Alagöz 2023.

on completely new forms and the settlement developed into a major urban complex. During this period, beginning in the early 9th century, the settlement extended more than 13 ha in two separate mounds, encircled by a single fortification system accessed through imposing monumental gates. The eastern mound was occupied by an elite quarter constituted by rows of megaron-style buildings: large rectangular structures composed of a main hall and an anteroom covered by double-pitched roofs.[73] Around the mid-9th century, the eastern citadel gate and/or its associated buildings were decorated with sculpted orthostats with clear iconographic parallels in the Syro-Anatolian imagery.[74] The Syro-Anatolian repertoire was thus vested with great symbolic value by the Early Phrygian elites of Gordion seeking legitimation of their power. Significantly, however, these artistic influences did not persist in later phases of the settlement, suggesting a shift toward other ideological models. Also dated to the mid-9th century are the earliest burial mounds (tumuli), peppering the hills to the east of the citadel within a radius of about 2 km. The largest—and earliest—tumulus within the Early Phrygian group, Tumulus W, had a special connection with the main settlement in that it aligned perfectly with the monumental citadel gate. Due to this disposition and its dimension, it is generally assumed that this tumulus served as a royal burial.[75] The Early Phrygian building program was terminated by a great fire, probably ignited by accident, that produced a thick deposit of burned debris termed the *Destruction Level* by archaeologists. Initially, this event was connected with the Cimmerian invasion reported by historical sources as having occurred at the end of the 8th century BCE. The new chronology, established through a scrupulous program of absolute radiocarbon and dendrochronological determinations, now firmly dates the Destruction Level to around 800 BCE, that is one century earlier than previously assumed.[76] The Destruction Level yielded the earliest known Phrygian inscriptions, which would date to the late 9th century according to the new chronology.

Immediately after the fire, the excavated Early Phrygian quarters were leveled with a massive 3–5 m fill layer deliberately brought on top of the settlement mounds. This operation, which surely required the mobilization of a substantial workforce indicative of a well-organized polity,[77] prepared the terrain for the re-building of the urban core, thus marking the beginning of the Middle

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73   Rose 2017:141, Fig. 6.
74   Sams 1989.
75   On the Gordion tumuli, see Liebhardt et al. 2016.
76   Rose and Darbyshire 2011; Kealhofer et al. 2019.
77   Voigt and Henrickson 2000.

Phrygian settlement (YHSS 5: ca. 800–540 BCE). During this period, Gordion reached its floruit, extending beyond the mounds to occupy part of the lower plain and the western plateau for a total area of about 100 ha. The Middle Phrygian settlement is also deemed to have been the seat of king Midas, whose reign is attributed to the late 8th century BCE by available sources (see below). The official quarter of the eastern mound was rebuilt according to a plan that broadly replicated the Early Phrygian layout, thus signaling cultural continuity within approximately the same group of peoples. Burial mound traditions also continued and in fact reached an apex with the construction of Tumulus MM, the largest tumulus built at Gordion and one of the largest in Anatolia. Long thought to host the burial of Midas because of its size and riches (hence the label *Midas Mound*), this tumulus is now dated by dendrochronology to ca. 740 BCE, some decades before the supposed death of the famed Phrygian king. Therefore, it is now assumed that this mound was built *by* Midas as a burial for his father.[78]

The Middle Phrygian period saw the ultimate development of the typical material cultural package usually associated with the Phrygians, including fine metal-working and a class of prestigious vessels painted with animal motifs disposed in panels. The common ware used for daily household consumption was represented by monochrome gray wares, which saw a continuous development from the Early Iron Age in a broadly standardized shape repertoire. By the early 6th century, the power of the Phrygian polity centered at Gordion seems to have declined, and the site came under strong Lydian influence, perhaps due to the expansion of the kingdom of Alyattes and Croesus. The largest portion of Old Phrygian inscribed artifacts from Gordion belong to the Middle Phrygian period.

After Gordion, the second most conspicuous group of Old Phrygian inscriptions occurs in what appears to have been a sacred area to the Phrygians in the ridges and valleys of the so-called *Phrygian Highlands* south of Eskişehir, centered on the site nowadays popularized as Midas City (Turkish: Midas Şehri).[79] The most impressive feature in this location is the so-called *Midas Monument*, consisting of an imposing façade carved into the surface of a natural cliff. Six Old Phrygian inscriptions are engraved around the monument, one of which would identify it as a dedication to Midas, offered by Ates, son of Archias.[80] The most salient characteristic of this short epigraph are the titles *lavagtaei* and

78   Rose 2015:16.

79   Haspels 1971. On Phrygian rock-carving, see Berndt-Ersöz 2006.

80   Obrador-Cursach 2020a:427–429.

vanaktei, attributed to Midas as borrowings from the Mycenaean titles *lawage-tas*, 'leader of the people,' and *wanaks*, 'lord, ruler' (cf. Greek (ϝ)άναξ, (ϝ)άνακτος) (see Chapter 8, Section 2.2.1). Suggested dates for the carving of the monument, and thus the Midas dedication, range from the 8th to 6th centuries BCE, but recent treatments tend to support an upper chronology grounded in stylistic and stratigraphic considerations on comparable Gordion data.[81] If those estimates are accurate, the Midas receiving the dedication would be none other than the famous king of Phrygia/Muški faced by Sargon II. The area surrounding Midas City to the north and west is crowded with other rock-cut monuments. Alongside other carved façades similar to the Midas Monument and rock-cut tombs, the most representative artifacts in this context are stepped altars, likely serving as cultic installations in honor of Matar, the main Phrygian deity. These monuments consisted of a series of steps carved into the natural rock, topped by stylized idols and often accompanied by short Phrygian dedications bearing the name of the donors.[82] Most known stepped altars are clustered in the Sakarya and Porsuk basins, between the modern provinces of Eskişehir, Kütahya and Sivrihisar, but some more isolated examples also occur elsewhere in central Anatolia. In most cases, these monuments lack internal elements that would allow for their absolute chronological contextualization beyond a general time span between the 9th and 6th centuries BCE, broadly corresponding to the Early and Middle Phrygian periods at Gordion.[83]

The two poles of Gordion and the Phrygian Highlands clearly defined a *Phrygian core area* during the Iron Age. Outside this area, another important cluster of Old Phrygian inscriptions features in the Kızılırmak bend, especially in the sites of Alaca Höyük, Boğazköy and Kerkenes Dağ. The latter is an immense site of more than 250 ha occupied during a single phase between the late 7th and mid-6th centuries BCE, probably founded anew for unknown reasons on previously barren land. Alongside a fragmentary monumental inscription (K-01) found at the entrance gate of a large institutional building,[84] several other Phrygian-style features occur at Kerkenes, most importantly megaron buildings, a semi-iconic cult-stele representing an idol, and tumulus burials. On this basis the site has generally been understood as a Phrygian settlement.[85] Scholars debate the reasons why such an extensive settlement, with strong Phrygian

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81   Rose 2021, with references to previous literature.

82   Berndt-Ersöz 2006:40–49.

83   For different hypotheses, Berndt-Ersöz 2006:134–137; Summers 2018b; d'Alfonso 2020b: 179–181.

84   Obrador-Cursach 2020a:508, with references to previous literature.

85   Summers 2018a; 2021.

affiliations, would be founded anew so distant from the Phrygian core area. The question is particularly pressing also because the lifespan of Kerkenes corresponded to a time when the Phrygian polity of Gordion was already declining or, in any case, transiting under Lydian influence. Geoffrey Summers (2018b), director of the Kerkenes excavations until 2014, argues that the settlement was founded by Phrygian refugees from the west displaced by the Lydian conquest. An obstacle to this hypothesis is that several artifacts at Kerkenes show forms of hybridization with a Syro-Anatolian visual repertoire, such as the winged sun framed by the Phrygian inscription or the style of some statues and reliefs. These motifs had ceased to circulate in the Phrygian core region after the Early Phrygian period, that is, two centuries before the foundation of Kerkenes. Admittedly, typical Syro-Anatolian artistic expressions were already gone at Tabal as well by the 7th century BCE, but could still be visible in the area—as they are today in the case of rock-cut monuments—and could thus circulate as cultural memories for some generations. One should also consider that three of the four names attested on the K-01 inscription are Luwian (Masa, Urgi, and Tatta) and thus more at home around the Kızılırmak basin than in the Phrygian core area.

In other locations, Old Phrygian inscriptions occur as more isolated finds, but are nonetheless important to gauge the extent of Phrygian contacts. Fragments of stone inscriptions dating to the late 8th century, one of them reporting the name Midas, was found at Kemerhisar (Cl. Tyana), the likely capital of the Syro-Anatolian kingdom of Tuwana, while the name of a Phrygian individual was incised on an orthostat at Karkemiš. Lydia and the tumulus of Bayındır, in Lycia, are also findspots of Old Phrygian-inscribed materials dating at least from the mid-8th century, while a single inscribed vase was dedicated in the Treasury of the Corinthians at Delphi in the late 7th century.

3.2   *The Phrygians and Their Neighbors*

It is unclear to what extent the sparse Phrygian cultural expressions analyzed above, including language, could be an index of actual political control by a single Phrygian kingdom based at Gordion, more Phrygian polities with multiple power bases, or merely the result of Phrygian cultural influence.[86] The wealth and scale of public constructions and monuments found at Gordion certainly account for a well-organized centralized polity that controlled vast economic resources and was able to mobilize a substantial population. At the present stage, however, it is hard to define the geographic limits of such polity,

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86   Summers 2023a; Santini, forthcoming.

if not through an association with Midas. In any case, such an association must remain conjectural, as this king is never attested in chronologically relevant phases at Gordion. As cogently argued by Santini (forthcoming), Midas himself—who is the only Phrygian king historically attested for the Iron Age—may have been little more than a particularly charismatic leader, not dissimilar from other coeval colleagues (e.g., Wasusarma), who was able to assembly a multiethnic coalition to expand his hegemony in Anatolia. In this sense, the *Phrygian kingdom*, no matter how extensive, was a short-lived experiment that—for better or worse—may have enshrouded Midas and Phrygia in the legendary aura echoed in later Greek traditions.

An idea of how far Phrygian political impact reached in Anatolia may derive from a brief evaluation of its attested political interactions with neighbors. The most important historical sources about Phrygia are found in the Assyrian records, namely the inscriptions of Sargon II, where Midas (spelled *Mita*) is consistently associated with the country of Muški. In earlier documents, dating from the 12th century on, Muški is attested in connection with geographical realities located in eastern Anatolia, around the region of the Tur Abdin, and it remains unclear how this term might have migrated all the way up to Phrygia. According to a hypothesis advanced by Wittke (2004:177), the Phrygian complex of the Iron Age resulted from the convergence of two migration streams arrived in northwest-central Anatolia by the beginning of the first millennium, one from the west (the Phrygians proper) and one from the east (the Muški). Another, more attractive, possibility is that *Muški* and other corresponding terms derived from a vague, perhaps derogatory, designation for semimobile populations located at the margins of literate societies, akin to the Kaška of the Hittite Empire period.[87] Be this as it may, the Muški attested in Assyrian sources before the 8th century were certainly something different from Midas' Muški and the Phrygians.

The formation of a major regional power in Anatolia posed a serious threat to Assyrian control on the western peripheries, and the activities of Sargon II against Midas were mainly oriented at avoiding the formation of coalitions between Phrygia and Syro-Anatolian states, which could be potentially fatal with Urartu on the horizon. In an initial phase, at the beginning of Sargon's reign, Muški/Phrygia and Assyria mostly vied indirectly for hegemony in Tabal. Between 718 and 711, Midas is reported as conspiring with Šinuhtu, Bit-Burutaš and other Tabalian polities, and his long arm even reached Malatya, Gurgum and Karkemiš in an attempt to draw them into anti-Assyrian coalitions. Inter-

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87   Hawkins and Weeden 2021:395.

estingly, these historically documented connections between Phrygia and Syro-Anatolia are also in part reflected in the material record. As mentioned above, the region of Tuwana was the findspot of Phrygian inscriptions, and Warpalawa is famously depicted at İvriz wearing a Phrygian fibula.[88] Phrygian-style tumuli are also numerous in the region; some of them overlook Kemerhisar, the likely site of Tuwana itself.[89] Karkemiš was also the findspot of a Phrygian inscription, while Middle Iron Age levels at Malatya yielded ceramics typical of the Phrygian area.

Possible interactions (however sporadic) with Phrygia are also documented in indigenous Syro-Anatolian sources. It has been suggested that the country of *pa+ra/i-zu-ta$_x$* figuring in TOPADA would reflect a reading *Prizuwanda* to be connected with Φρυγία via the ethnonym Βρίγες attributed to the Phrygians by the Herodotean tradition (see above).[90] More straightforward Luwian hieroglyphic references to Phrygia may be found in the toponym Mus(a)ka (cf. *mu-sà-ka*), comparable with *Muški*. In Yariri's inscription KARKAMIS A6 (early 8th century), Mus(a)ka is mentioned among the countries to which the author's fame extended. More importantly, the newly found inscription of Türkmen-Karahöyük (TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1), to the west of the Karadağ in the Konya plain, reveals of a conflict between the local ruler, Hartapu, and the country of Muški.[91] Significantly, the inscription of KIZILDAĞ 4 also evokes similar events and is carved just beside a stepped monument closely resembling a Phrygian stepped altar.[92] Recent archaeological investigations based on survey collections suggest that the Konya plain was indeed subject to important cultural influences from the Phrygian area, especially revealed by ceramic contacts.[93] In 2021, the PALaC project supported a collaboration with the Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project (P.I. Michele Massa),[94] aimed at more extensive investigation of these patterns through the integration of a historical, archaeological and archaeometric approach. The results of this collaboration are now being processed for publication, but a preliminary evaluation reveals, for example, the sizable presence in the Konya plain of elite figura-

88   On Phrygian-style fibulae in south-central Anatolia, see also Patrier 2015.

89   Akkaya 1991.

90   D'Alfonso 2019:144–145.

91   See, from different perspectives, Goedegebuure et al. 2020; Oreshko 2020b; Hawkins and Weeden 2021; Santini forthcoming. Perhaps the same event is also recorded in KIZILDAĞ 4, if we date this inscription to the Iron Age.

92   For different interpretations on dating and context: d'Alfonso 2020b:185–186; Massa and Osborne 2022:94–96.

93   Kealhofer et al. 2015.

94   For the KRASP project, see Massa et al. 2020.

tive wares typical of the late Early and Middle Phrygian period at Gordion.[95] These wares are otherwise rare elsewhere in sites ranging within Tabal, such as Kaman Kalehöyük or Kınık Höyük and Porsuk. One may even tentatively suggest that the *k*-variant of the ruler's name H/Kartapu, unique to the excised part of TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, is the result of an interference with Phrygian that lacked the laryngeal in its phonetic system. This would imply that the scribe of the excised part of the inscription, stylistically very different from its incised continuation, was indeed a Phrygian not well accustomed to Hieroglyphic Luwian writing, as possibly suggested by the clumsy appearance of related signs.[96] Between 715 and 709 BCE, Sargon II and his lieutenants came to terms with Midas, confronting him in Cilicia before eventually signing a peace. We may wonder whether at this time the Konya plain already functioned as a Phrygian power base for further advance toward the south.

4 Western Anatolia from the 10th Century to the Achaemenids

Regardless of the exact *date* one wishes to pick for the *end* of the Syro-Anatolian polities, one can easily agree that, with the possible exception of Cilicia (about which we know too little after the end of the 8th century) and notwithstanding the obvious survival of Luwian anthroponyms in the Neo-Assyrian sources, starting from no later than the 6th century, no significant traces remain of the polities that had used Luwian as a written language.

As is well known, however, Anatolian languages would survive at least for a few more centuries, and they were used as official languages in a few areas of in western Anatolia (Fig. 3.3). The polities associated with the production of Anatolian corpora in that geographical region are quite elusive in general, even though the sources are rich thanks to the coexistence of local and Greek ones. Nonetheless, the most comprehensive history of Lydia, by Högemann and Oettinger (2018), is more than 500 pages long, whereas Keen's (1998) book on the history of Lycia exceeds 250. It would be fruitless to try to hastily summarize all the events that characterized the histories of the western Anatolian kingdoms. In this section, therefore, we will offer a general description of the main periods and corpora, aiming to contextualize the chapters that will deal with the Anatolian languages attested from the 6th century BCE to the first and second centuries CE.

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95 Osborne and Massa, forthcoming; Matessi, forthcoming. For some syntheses on Gordion figurative ceramics, see Sams 1974 and 2012.
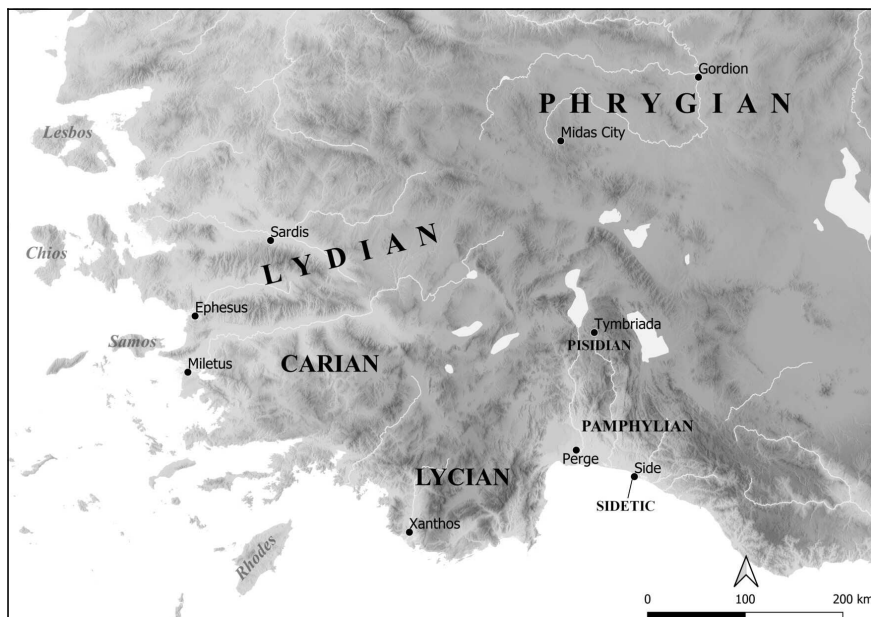
96 Matessi, forthcoming.

FIG. 3.3   Languages of Asia Minor during the late first millennium BCE

4.1   *Lydia*

Proceeding in chronological order by attestation of historical records, the kingdom of Lydia, with its capital city Sardis, is the first Anatolian polity of Asia Minor for which we possess information. The proto-historical stages of a Bronze Age Lydian civilization remain unknown, although some pieces of indirect evidence exist. Based on later Greek sources that associate them to the Mysians (see Högemann and Oettinger 2018:107–115, but cf. also Giusfredi and Matessi 2021), Lydians would come from a northern inland region roughly corresponding to what the Hittites called *Maša*.[97] On the other hand, Yakubovich (2010a:75–157) proposed, based on less-than-conclusive sociolinguistic considerations (mostly concerning proper names), that Lydians were already settled in Asia Minor during the Bronze Age.[98]

Moving on to the Iron Age, it is Herodotus who provides us with a (probably fictional) account of how the first true historical dynasty, that of the Mermnads, took over the kingdom at the expense of the last ruler of the mythological

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97   See Giusfredi and Matessi 2021:17–19 for further discussion.

98   However, see also the review by Hawkins (2013) and the updated proposal by Yakubovich (2013).

house of the Heraclides.[99] The first member of the Mermnad house is the Gyges of Herodotus's *Histories*, whose name has long been recognized to represent an otherwise unattested Lydian cognate to Luwic and Hittite *huhha-* 'grandfather,' or possibly the Carian *quq-* (Payne 2023b:206). Unlike the members of the previous dynasty, Gyges is occasionally mentioned in the Assyrian annals of Ashurbanipal's reign, which guarantees his historicity.[100] He spent a significant part of his reign fighting the Cimmerians, and the same is likely true of his successors, who are (unfortunately) mentioned in Greek sources that, although providing important historical information (e.g., regarding the wars between Sardis and Miletus and other Ionian centers in the second half of the 7th century), do not allow a safe reconstruction of the dynastic sequence.[101] The dynasty ends by the mid-6th century with the defeat of king Croesus by the army of Cyrus and the Achaemenid conquest of Sardis.[102]

As was the case with other Iron Age polities, however, conquest by and annexation into the Achaemenid Empire did not mark the end of Lydian culture. Under Persian rule, Lydia remained a distinctive cultural region, which is reflected in the continuation of the local epigraphic culture. The oldest Lydian texts have been dated (based on rather shaky stratigraphic and/or contextual considerations) to the 8th or 7th century (Gusmani 1964:17; 1980:15; cf. now Payne 2023:192). The latest specimina can be dated to the second century BCE, well into the Hellenistic age. If the hypothesized date of the earliest texts is correct, this makes Lydian one of the three most longeval corpus languages of the Anatolian branch, together with Luwian and Hittite. The languages that came into contact with Lydian were Greek, Phrygian, the Luwic languages of southwestern Anatolia, and, starting from the mid-6th century BCE, Achaemenid Persian and Imperial Aramaic. In order to better characterize the linguistic and historical significance of the different types of contact, the interference phenomena occurring with the eastern languages of the Achaemenid Empire and those involving Greek will be treated in separate chapters (Chapter 7 and 15, respectively).

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99   On the mytho-historical dynasties of the Atydes and of the Heraclides, see Payne (2023b: 197–204).

100   RINAP 5 2 vi 14; 3 ii 86b, 92; 4 ii 61′, 67′; 6 iv 1′; 7 iii 17′, 24′; 9 ii 10, 16; 11 ii 95, 103, 119; 23:86b; 92 ii 2′; 125 A 1′; 207 obv. 19, 26.

101   For a summary of the Greek sources, see Payne and Wintjes 2016:31–37; Payne 2023b:206–215.

102   Even the very famous King Croesus is, unfortunately, known only indirectly through Greek sources. The only possible exception would be represented by the name *Qλdãns* attested on coins, which, according to Euler and Sasseville (2019), would represent the very name of Croesus. This hypothesis is, however, extremely speculative.

4.2   *Lycia and Caria*

If we can only speculate as to the Bronze Age origins of Lydia and the Lydians, the case is different for the two other main regions of Asia Minor in which Anatolian languages were used. Although the origins of the kingdom of Lycia are unknown,[103] the first dynasty of which we possess actual historical data (excluding, of course, the colorful characterizations of the origins of the Lycians that are conveyed by Greek sources)[104] is that commonly referred to as the *Harpagid dynasty*, from the name of the Persian general Harpagus, who conquered Lycia in the name of Emperor Cyrus in 546 BCE. The details of this dynasty are speculative, and one may refer to Keen (1998) and Klinkott (2023) for further discussion. The Lycian cities appear to have repeatedly switched alliances during the long series of Persian–Greek wars that started in the late 6th century BCE with the Ionian rebellions and continued through the 5th and 4th centuries until the end of the Achaemenid Empire. By the late 5th century, Lycia was securely on the Achaemenid side, and, following the reorganization of the Empire, by the mid-4th century it had fallen under the control of the satraps of the Hekatomnid dynasty of Caria (Klinkott 2023:610–614).

Caria, in turn, may or may not be equated with the region that Hittite cuneiform sources refer to as *Karkiša/Karkiya* (see Simon 2015a for discussion). In contrast to Lycia, for which no such stage is known from any available sources, Caria was perhaps part of the Lydian Empire during the early 6th century.[105] Eventually, it became part of the Achaemenid Empire, with the rulers of Halicarnassus, the Lygdamid dynasty, playing a major role in the local government (at least, judging from Herodotus's accounts). During the prolonged conflicts pitting the Greek cities against Persia, Caria too changed its alliance following the end of the early Persian Wars, only to return to the fold of the Achaemenid Empire by the last decades of the 5th century, under the local rule of the powerful Hekatomnid dynasts.

The two regions of Lycia and Caria, being close to each other, shared parallel historical fates, and the languages used there—Lycian, the sparsely attested Milyan dialect (or Lycian B) and Carian—were exposed to more or less the same areal context, which was incidentally similar to that of Lydian. Just as in the case of Lydian, hereinafter we will keep separate the discussion of interference with the eastern languages in the context of the Achaemenid Empire (Chapter 6) and that of the areal relationship with Greek (Chapter 15).

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103   For a discussion on the connection to the cuneiform Hittite toponym *Lukka*, see Gander 2010, also 2014 for the history of Lukka in the Late Bronze Age.

104   For an overview, cf. Keen 1998:34–60.

105   Payne and Wintjes 2016:34.

4.3   *Side, Pamphylia and the Very Late Case of Pisidia*

After the Hellenization of Asia Minor in the centuries after the Macedonian conquest of large portions of the Ancient Near East and the dissolution of the Achaemenid Empire, it becomes harder to detect traces of regions and polities in which the use of Anatolian languages survived. However, the level of difficulty depends on the nature of the available sources, and on their number. As in the case of the *extinction* of Luwian in the Syro-Anatolian regions, one should always remember that the apparent lack of polities that used a given language as their official medium of monumental communication or administration does not imply that the language was indeed dead: some official languages do not coincide with the language spoken by the population.

That said, there are indeed a few regions where Anatolian languages would emerge after the Hellenization of Asia Minor. All data seem to come from a rather small portion of southern Asia Minor, roughly coinciding with the north-western portions of former Lycia (or, more precisely, Milya). In the region of Pamphylia, on the coast, traces of contamination of a Luwic language emerge in the local variety of Greek, which is attested in a number of inscriptions dating to a period between the 5th and second centuries BCE.[106] Furthermore, in the Pamphylian city of Side, a local Luwic language is also attested in epigraphic materials from the third and second centuries BCE.[107] Finally, in the second century CE, epigraphs from Pisidia (inland to the northwest of Pamphylia), record a distinct Luwic language, Pisidian,[108] which is, to date, the latest surviving member of the Anatolian branch of Indo-European. Given their late geo-historical context and relative isolation when compared to other Luwic materials of the Iron Age, a full chapter of this book will be dedicated to discussing these languages.

5   Concluding Remarks

The dissolution of the Late Bronze Age power system and the subsequent reorientation of interregional contacts across the Mediterranean Sea brought about new cultural frontiers, nesting upon novel political networks. On one hand, we have seen that the consequences of the collapse of the Hittite Empire did not homogeneously affect its former territories. Regions straddling the eastern

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106   See Chapter 16 for further details on the corpus and its features.
107   See Chapter 16 for further details.
108   See Chapter 16 for further details.

Taurus, from Malatya to Aleppo, saw the continuation of Hittite-style monumental traditions and the use of Hieroglyphic Luwian script and language in display inscriptions in the frame of a general resilience in social organization. Also central Anatolia, the former core of the Hittite Empire, saw isolated instances of social resilience or rapid re-organization in the early post-Hittite period, but local Hittite-style traditions reappeared only much later, by the 8th century BCE—with the dubious early exception of Hartapu (I)'s inscriptions.

At least in part, we can perhaps ascribe to these differential developments the processes of cultural frontier formation that would become apparent in the full Iron Age, on the foreground of the general continuum represented by the Syro-Anatolian complex. As we have seen in the first volume of this project, throughout the Bronze Age the Taurus mountains formed a permeable barrier that channeled contacts affecting various spheres of social interaction, with a strong impact on linguistic scenarios. By contrast, during the Iron Age cross-Tauric exchange decreased and trajectories reoriented in other directions. Cilicia, Syria and the northern Levant so became more attracted in a Mediterranean network, while central Anatolia formed a network of its own having its poles in Tabal and Phrygia with the episodic participation of Urartu. The only arguable link between Anatolia and the Syro-Mesopotamian area, if any, is represented by Malatya, that throughout the post-Hittite period down to the Assyrian conquest entertained political and cultural relationships with regions both north and south of the Taurus. A clear linguistic proxy of this Taurus frontier is offered by the distribution of West Semitic languages, that did not find their way in central Anatolia until the Achaemenid period, with the sole exception of the Phoenician inscription of ıvrİz 2.[109]

From a linguistic perspective, a second frontier may be identified on the Amanus mountains, that formed an interface between Luwo-Phoenician (Cilicia) and Luwo-Aramaic (Sam'al and the northern Levant) milieus. This frontier, however, had less bearings on political or other types of interaction, as shown for example by the strong involvement of Hiyawa/Que into wars and coalitions with Syro-Levantine polities.

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109   Dinçol 1994.

Cilicia in the Iron Age

H. Craig Melchert

1 Defining the Topic[1]

1.1 *The Location*

Classical Cilicia consisted of two discrete parts: Cilicia Trachea and Cilicia Pedia. Both were known to the Assyrians, whose name for Cilicia Trachea, *Hilakku*, is the source of Greek Κιλικία. However, the core of Cilicia Trachea comprised the mountainous terrain of the western Taurus Mountains, and our Early Iron Age sources for it are very limited. Our focus will thus be primarily on Cilicia Pedia, which is mostly well defined by the Amanus Mountains to the east, the Taurus to the north and west, and the Bay of İskenderun to the south.[2]

Only in the southwest is there no major barrier along the coastal plain. In the Treaty of Tuthaliya I with Šunaššura, the boundary is at the Lamiya River, and the city Lamiya belongs to the Hittite king. As emphasized by several scholars, this provision clearly reflects the Hittite preoccupation with maintaining control of and access to the crucial port of Ura (Silifke).[3] It is unknown whether

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2 Thus with Novák and Rutishauser (2017:134) with references to Trémouille 2001 and Forlanini 2013. See also Trameri (2020:42–62) for a review of the matter, including extensive and persuasive arguments with references for distinguishing Lawazantiya in Kizzuwatna (Cilicia Pedia) from a northern Lu/aḫuzantiya. However, in the extant Šunaššura Treaty, we do not have the northern and eastern borders of Kizzuwatna (see the map in Novák and Rutishauser 2012:269). That the Amanus formed the eastern border seems clear, but the northern limits are less certain. I doubt that any Hittite king would have yielded control of the area of the İMAMKULU, TAŞCI, and FIRAKTİN inscriptions, but the Hittites may well have included this area in Kizzuwatna (cf. Hawkins and Weeden 2017:293–294). There is also a growing consensus that Kummanni was a city of eastern Cilicia Pedia (Trameri 2020:62–65; Novák and Rutishauser 2017:138, et al.). Its precise identification remains debated, a point to which we will return below.

3 See in detail Novák and Rutishauser 2012:265. Later, Tuthaliya IV, in his treaty with Kuruntiya, likewise made sure that the Hittites maintained control of a coastal strip from the southern

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any polity of Cilicia Pedia extended into Cilicia Trachea in pre- or post-Hittite times (cf. below on the Cebelireis Dağı inscription).

1.2 *The Name*

The land of Cilicia Pedia has been known by many names.[4] The most serious candidate for an autonym is 'the land of (the city) Adana,' reflected in Hittite KUR ^URU*Adaniya*, attested already in the Old Hittite Edict of Telipinu (KUB 11.5 obv. 14', Hoffmann 1984:26) and also in HLuw. *Adanawa-* (URBS) in KARATEPE 1 §2 *et passim*.[5] Noteworthy is the wording of the Treaty of Tuthaliya IV with Šunaššura (KBo 1.5 iv 52–54) whereby the latter is to keep whatever has belonged to Adaniya "since ancient times" (thus with Goetze 1940:51 and also, cautiously, Schwemer 2005:106). Also significant is that the Hittite and Luwian designations contain the respective suffixes *-iya-* and *-wa-*, which are properly adjectives referring to city-states (NB: the KUR in the Hittite version). The self-evident word for 'land' is regularly omitted, resulting in the adjectives also being used for the city name.[6]

I must stress this point, since it is clear that two exonyms for Cilicia Pedia also are based on the names of city-states, despite attempts to obfuscate or deny

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end of the Pusatlı subrange of the Taurus to Šaranduwa (Kelenderis, or a town even farther west on the coast), keeping Kuruntiya well away from Ura; thus, already in essence Dinçol et al. 2000:14, 19. See in detail Melchert 2007:509–511. Against de Martino (2022:50), the language of the Bronze Tablet is unequivocal that Šaranduwa is the *southeastern* terminus of the boundary on the seacoast. The *western* boundary on the coast is at Parḫa (Perge). There is no basis or need for a "corridor" through Tarhuntašša for the Hittites to reach Ura.

4   However, one oft-cited alleged name, *Qode* (*Qd[j/w]*) appearing in Egyptian sources, can be discarded. Simon (2011) has provided compelling arguments that this toponym cannot refer to Kizzuwatna. See further the discussion by Trameri (2020:36–38).

5   There can also be no doubt that *DNNYM* in KARATEPE 1 refers to the inhabitants of Adana(wa) and is based on a Luwian adjective **atanawann(i)-* (*pace* Trameri 2020:34–36, et al.). The absence of the initial aleph that appears in the city name *'DN = Adana* is hardly surprising. The length of the adjective and its likely accent on the suffix could easily have led to aphaeresis of the initial *a-* in the Phoenician. Whether this adjective for 'Adanean' has anything to do with the Tanaya and/or the Danuna/Denyen of the Late Bronze Age is an entirely separate question, but the connection must be regarded as at best unproven. That *á-*429-wa/i-* in KARATEPE 1 is to be read as anything other than *á-TANA-wa/i-* has been refuted by Hawkins (2015b:55), citing the clear equivalence of §§5 and 37, where the Luwian has respectively *á-TANA-wa/i-za*(URBS) (TERRA+LA+LA)*wa/i-ra/-za* and *á-ta-na-wa/i-za-*(*ha*)(URBS) TERRA+LA+LA-*za* 'Adanean plain' for Phoenician *'MQ 'DN* 'plain of Adana.' The sophistic attempt by Yakubovich (2015b:57) to explain away this equivalence fails to convince.

6   Leading to doublets such as *Zalpa/Zalpuwa*, as first recognized by Carruba (1979:95). For the other, cf. *Hurna/Hurniya* (del Monte and Tischler 1978:126 with references), likely *Ikuna* (SÜD-BURG §1)/*Ikkuwaniya*, and similar pairs.

the evidence. One should hardly need to insist on the prevalence in the ANE of the names of lands based on city-states, even if fortune led a few to become empires (Assur, Babylon, Hattuša) or at least regional polities (Karkamiš, Gurgum, Malatya). Nothing alters the fact that the name of the land is always derived from that of the city.

Therefore, when Hattušili III reports (KBo 6.28 obv. 13–14) that *edez̄ma* LÚ.KÚR URU*Armatanaš* [*uet*] *nu apāšš̄a* KUR.KUR.M[EŠ U]RU*Ḫatti ḫarganut nūza* URU*Kizzuwatnan* URU-*an* [ZAG-*an iya*]*t* "While from that direction the enemy of Armatana [came], and he too destroyed the lands of Hattuša, and he made Kizzuwatna the city the [border]," we must conclude that the use of the name (by outsiders!) for the land of Cilicia Pedia was also based on the name of one of its city-states.[7] The predominant use by the Hittites and the reference to Armatana in the passage quoted suggest that the city was likely in the eastern part of Cilicia Pedia, but one must be cautious about such inferences. In any case, the use of the name in the Šunaššura Treaty does indicate that, at certain times, Kizzuwatna did (at least for the Hittites!) refer effectively to the entire plain. It was thus at least roughly equivalent to KUR URU*Adaniya*, but we should avoid inferring that the exonym and likely autonym were coterminous (cf. fn. 2 above).

Of the line of cities running west to east in central Cilicia Pedia, the locations of Tarsus and Adana are secure, and the presence of seven springs argues that Tatarlı Höyük farther east is Lawazantiya (Novák and Rutishauser 2017:138; Hawkins and Weeden 2017:285). However, there is not yet any consensus on the location of Kizzuwatna/Kummanni. There is some attraction in adopting the identification by Casabonne (2002:188 *et alibi*) with Kastabala, designated as Hierapolis in Greco-Roman sources (*Kummanni* in Luwian is 'holy place') and taking Sirkeli Höyük farther west as Arušna (tentatively, Hawkins and Weeden 2017:285–286 and map 294). However, compare the different viewpoint of Novák and Rutishauser (2017:138, 144). Pending further discoveries, the question must remain open.

My claim that *Kizzuwatna* as a term for Cilicia Pedia is an exonym requires an excursus on proposed etymologies of the name. That of Neumann (1958), by which the name consists of Hittite *kēz* 'on this side' and a Hittite or Luwian

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7 It is quite true that because city-states were the norm, Hittite scribes also referred to KUR URU*Mizri* 'Egypt' and by shorthand rarely even just URU*Mizra-* (see the use of URU*Ḫatti* in the citation clearly for the kingdom of Hattuša), but they knew enough never to refer to a non-existent †URU*Mizran* URU-*an*. It is totally unjustified to imply (Trameri 2020:30–31) that use with reference to the city is somehow secondary. It is purely coincidental that the Hittite sources had more and earlier occasions to refer to the land than to the city itself.

form of 'water' (and thus would mean 'on this side of the water') is not viable on multiple grounds. The Hittites referred to the Mediterranean as *aruna-* 'sea,' as shown by the use of *arunaz* 'toward the sea' in the Treaty of Tuthaliya IV with Kuruntiya.[8] Nor would the Hittites have used *kēz* 'on this side' to refer to a place so remote from Hattuša. In the treaty with Ulmi-Teššub, the southern and western boundaries of Tarhuntašša are referred to as *arahzenaza* 'on/toward the outside' (KBo 4.10 obv. 29), that is, from the perspective of Hattuša (see Melchert 2007:509–510).

The alternate account of Yakubovich (2010a:237, 274 with fn. 80) resolves these problems by suggesting that the term is an autonym created by Hittite and Luwian settlers of the region meaning 'country on this side (of the mountains).' However, it faces equally insurmountable problems. We may leave aside that the name was originally that of a city, not a country. A more serious matter is that in the FIRAKTİN hieroglyphic inscription, one of the earliest attested, the spelling is *ká-zuwa-na*(REGIO), a fact egregiously ignored in all discussions of the name Kizzuwatna. Yakubovich (2010a:291) argues compellingly that the syllabic value *ká* can reflect only Hittite *katta* 'down,' not Luwian *zanta*. It is hard to imagine that a scribe of the Empire period in the employ of a Hittite king would spell a name containing Hittite *kēz* (or arguably pretonic *kiz* in a compound) with a sign based on Hittite *katta*. What the alternative spellings of cuneiform *Kizzuwatna* and hieroglyphic *Kaz(z)uwa(t)na* recall is the unexpected Anatolian hieroglyphic spelling *I-ma-t(u)-* (REGIO) for the land that appears consistently in Assyrian as *Amat-/Hamat-*. It further reminds us of the discrepancy between Greek Ephesus and Lesbos and *Apaša* and *Lazpa* in Hittite cuneiform. The likely identification of Hama with *é-ma-du/at*[KI] in Ebla sources (see Hawkins 2000:400 with fn. 29) suggests the answer: we are, as in the other cases, facing a quite ancient name with a vowel that speakers of both Semitic and Indo-European had difficulty assigning consistently to one in their own languages.

What is truly fatal, however, for the analysis of Kizzuwatna as containing Hittite *kēz* or *kiz* is that it first appears already in the Treaty of Telipinu with Išputahšu (KUB 31.81 obv. 6′, rev. 10′), a clearly Old Hittite text in Old Script. Furthermore, by Yakubovich's scenario, the term is surely a pre-Old Hittite creation by Hittite and Luwian settlers. However, in Old Hittite, the only form of 'on/to this side' is the instrumental *kēt* (note also *kit-pantalaz* 'from this time

8   Also in the votive prayer of Queen Puduḫepa (KUB 56.15 ii 15′ ff.) when she goes to Izziya to entreat the Sea God to deliver the troublemaker Piyamaradu to the Hittites (see the edition by Beckman in Beckman et al. 2011:250–251).

on'). Hittite created ablatival *kēz* only in Middle Hittite (Early New Kingdom). Thus, Kizzuwatna cannot contain Hittite *kēz/kiz* 'on this side.'

The alternative of a Hurrian name (Goetze 1940:5, fn. 20) cannot strictly be disproven, but renderings of Hurrian /i/ and /e/ in Hittite contexts are quite consistent, so the hieroglyphic spelling *ká-zuwa-na* is equally problematic for a Hurrian word.[9] Place names are notoriously persistent through changes of population groups, and the Hurrians, like the Luwians, are surely intrusive to Cilicia Pedia. At present, an indigenous name for the city seems most plausible.

The second well-established exonym for Cilicia Pedia is also based on the name of a city-state. It is entirely illicit to dismiss the clear evidence for Assyrian use of *Q(a)we* for a city as well as a land (*pace* Hawkins 2000:40) and to reject the connection of the city Kawa with *Q(a)we* on the grounds that the latter is the *equivalent* of Hiyawa (Simon 2011:260, followed by Gander 2012:291–292). An eventual basic equivalence as a term for Cilicia Pedia is likely (see below), but to derive Assyrian Qawe from Hiyawa is linguistically impossible, despite the widespread belief to the contrary. The discrepancy between the initial emphatic stop and the fricative is not a serious obstacle (as shown by the Neo-Babylonian version, Hume, and other examples), though a Luwian dorsal stop is just as plausible a source. Syncope of the medial syllable of Hiyawa would also not be surprising. What is simply not credible is that in no version of the Assyrian rendering or any other is there any trace whatsoever of the high front vowel [i]. Contrast its presence in Urikki from Warika and in Hilakku. Furthermore, Simon himself (2011:261) cites the settlement ᴋᴡ in the Phoenician inscription of Cebelireis Dağı, where the presence of ᴡʀʏᴋ (= Warika = Urikki) makes a location in Cilicia Pedia likely.

The context of the occurrence of Kawa in ᴋᴀʀᴋᴀᴍɪš A11b+c §7 also supports identification as a city of Cilicia Pedia: *a-wa/i |kwi/a-a-ti-i |*(ᴀɴɴᴜs)*u-si-i ka-wa/i-za-na*(ᴜʀʙs) |(ᴄᴜʀʀᴜs)*wa/i+ra/i-za-ni-ná* |ᴘᴇs₂-*za-ha* "In which year I drove the Kawean carriage."[10] Based on the following lines, the reference is to a triumphal procession (text in Hawkins 2000:103). In view of other evidence for the fame of Qawe's equine culture (see Section 2 below), the boast of Katuwa the Country Lord is surely that he could afford to ride in a luxury horse-drawn

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9   There definitely is no connection with ᴜʀᴜ*Ki-zi-ú-wa_a-ar* [*sic*] in ᴋᴜʙ 57.82:3 and 57.84 iii 19, a text referring to cities of northern Anatolia.

10   I must insist on this interpretation, based on the fact that the determinative of *wa/i+ra/i-za-ni-ná* is manifestly a wheeled vehicle. Direct reference to a military campaign (tentatively Hawkins 2000:105; unjustifiably without qualification Novák 2021:404) is implausible on multiple grounds. Moreover, its four wheels preclude that it is a war chariot and suggest an elaborate carriage.

vehicle from Kawa. I must insist that the Assyrian evidence confirms that Qawe, like Kizzuwatna, reflects the name of a city-state that for the Assyrians was also the primary name in the Iron Age for Cilicia Pedia. As in the case of the use of Kizzuwatna by the Hittites, one is tempted to suspect a place that the Assyrians would first encounter. However, the likely reference to *KW* in the Cebelireis Dağı inscription in the context of *WRYK* (Warika) bids caution, and we should likely refrain from any conclusions beyond that Kawa is the source of the principal exonym of Cilicia Pedia for the Assyrians. The accounts of Shalmaneser III (see Hawkins 2000:41), with his report of having marched to the sea and of having eventually deposed Kate, the king of Que, again suggest effective reference to the whole of Cilicia Pedia, but once again we must be cautious about supposing that the Assyrian conception of Qawe/Que entirely matched that of the autonym Adaniya/Adanawa.

A further reason for caution is that, as conceded above, there is no doubt that in the ÇİNEKÖY inscription of Warika the Luwian equivalent of Phoenician *DNNYM* is *hi-ya-wa/i-* (URBS), not *ka-wa/i-* (URBS). We must now confront the popular, but by no means consensus, view that Hiyawa is derived by aphaeresis from Ahhiyawa and refers to Greek immigrants into Cilicia Pedia in the early Iron Age (see for an extensive presentation of this hypothesis Yakubovich 2015a, with copious references to other works, as well as those cited in Gander 2012:283, fn.19, 23). A full reconsideration of the various arguments made in support of this quite dramatic claim is necessary.[11]

Since the first publication of the KARATEPE 1 bilingual the figure of Mopsus has played a key role in the question of a Greek migration into Cilicia by at least the 8th century, since he is referred to as a dynastic founder not only in the KARATEPE 1 text, but also now in those of ÇİNEKÖY and İNCİRLİ. Yakubovich (2015a:36) characterizes it as the "strongest philological argument for the Greek migration hypothesis," while Gander (2012:297–302) expends considerable effort in seeking to undermine the status of Mopsus as genuinely Greek. The latter's strongest point is that the name cannot be Greek in the sense of the Indo-European speakers who migrated into Greece. It not only has no Indo-European etymology; realistically, it cannot have one. The *-s-* of a preform **mokʷso-* may be a suffix or a so-called "root enlargement," but there is nowhere in Indo-European any trace of a PIE root of the shape **meKʷ-*, where

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11   I wish to make clear that, for my own purposes, I would very much like to believe in a significant Greek presence in Cilicia in the Early Iron Age or even at the turn from the Bronze to the Iron Age, and I will be quite happy if subsequent new evidence refutes what follows here. However, I can base my current conclusions only on evidence now available, and reconsideration has led me to find no compelling support for the alternative hypothesis.

*Kʷ stands for any labiovelar stop. However, this does not preclude that the name originated solely in a Greek context, and Gander's assumption of a secondary confusion with an Anatolian name with a dorsal stop and a "sound substitution" in Phoenician MPŠ is very weak.

Nor does Gander refute Yakubovich's arguments (2015a:37), adopted from Oettinger 2008, that the Anatolian—in particular, the Luwian—reflexes must represent an adaptation of the older Greek form *mokʷso- and not an independent reflex of the same preform, which could have produced only *Mukkussa- or *Mukkussu- in Luwian and Hittite (Oettinger 2008:64).[12] This argument is by no means ironclad. A Greek word with a very clear PIE etymology is νύξ 'night,' which can hardly represent anything except PIE *nókʷt-s. By a development known as *Cowgill's Law*, first promulgated by Cowgill (1965:156), the *o was raised to *u between a nasal and a labiovelar, and the latter was then delabialized by dissimilation to the preceding *u (a conditioned change seen elsewhere in Greek). Vine (1999), after a very thorough review, concludes that many instances of u in Greek attributed by Cowgill or others to this change should be accounted for otherwise. However, νύξ remains one of the most secure examples (Vine 1999:582). A preform *mokʷso- of whatever origin with an initial m- would be even more subject to such a combinatory change: in the Anatolian languages, *o would have raised to *u between a labial nasal and labiovelar stop, and the latter would have been unrounded by dissimilation to the preceding *u. That it did not occur in the Greek variant, as in νύξ, would indicate that *mokʷso- entered Greek after the Greek change in inherited words had run its course. Of course, an Anatolian version of *Cowgill's Law* is entirely hypothetical, but it is not an unnatural change.[13] At a minimum, this possibility suggests that the claim of Mopsus as the founder of a dynasty in Cilicia cannot alone bear the weight attributed to it by Yakubovich for the Greek migration hypothesis (see also Simon 2018b:319 for a Pre-Greek-Aegean source of the name).

As a second piece of support for the Greek migration hypothesis, Yakubovich (2015a:37) cites the significant presence of Late Helladic IIIc pottery in Cilicia. However, there is also considerable evidence for Cypriot pottery in Iron Age

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12   I should acknowledge that I am thanked for offering helpful advice on this point (2008:65, fn. 6). I can say only that the possible relevance of the Greek parallel cited here had not occurred to me in 2008.

13   It should also be noted that spellings in Hittite and Luwian with u-signs may stand for a vowel lower than /u/ that is likely close to [o]: see, among others, for Hittite Kloekhorst EDHIL:35–60 and for Luwian Melchert 2019a:571–573. That a foreign [o] might be preserved in a robust rounding environment is quite credible. An Anatolian *Cowgill's Law* is thus not strictly necessary, and unrounding of a labiovelar adjacent to a rounded vowel is commonplace.

Cilicia (see Novák 2021:426–435 with references regarding both Karatepe and Sirkeli Höyük). More generally, one must assume very lively trade in wares of various kinds that encompassed the Levant, Cyprus, Cilicia, Lycia, and Mycenaean Greece. The degree of cultural interaction in this region makes pottery styles a dubious basis for positing the movement of people (similar conclusion by Simon 2018b:318).

Greek etymologies have been proposed (along with others) for both *Á-wa/i+ra/i-ku-* = *ʾWRK*, name of the King of Adanawa appearing in KARATEPE 1 and also attested in Phoenician in the Hasanbeyli inscription likewise as *ʾWRK*, and for *Wa/i+ra/i-i-ka-* = *WRYK(s)*, King of Hiyawa in ÇİNEKÖY, İNCİRLİ and Cebelireis Dağı (see for a summary and evaluation of proposals Simon 2014:93–95). In evaluating the multiple competing proposals, I must insist on one point: the two names cannot possibly be the same: see Simon 2014:91–93 and Novák 2021:411, both with a tabular summary of the extant evidence. The first name is a *u*-stem in Luwian, has an initial aleph but *no* internal *y* in either occurrence of the Phoenician. The second is an *a*-stem in Luwian, always lacks an initial aleph in Phoenician but in all complete occurrences has an internal *y*. One must take the scribes' spellings seriously: the first name is Awarku (less likely Awaraku), while the second may be read as Wrayka, Wrika or Warika. Yakubovich (2015a:39), in assessing possible Greek readings of the two names likewise treats them as distinct, preferring Ἔϝαρχος 'fit for ruling' for the first and Ῥοῖκος 'lame' for the second. These are in principle quite reasonable, but it is incoherent to suppose that the Luwian author of KARATEPE 1 adapted one Greek *o*-stem as a *u*-stem and the other as an *a*-stem—especially in view of the rarity of *u*-stems in Luwian, including in personal names. Simon (2014:95) recognizes this problem, but still advocates taking Wrayka (*sic*) as reflecting Greek Ῥοῖκος. But if the first name cannot be Greek, why should we believe that the second is either? While a reduction of the diphthong to merely an /i/ (as suggested by Urikki) is quite possible, the multiple ambiguities of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script leave the matter anything but assured.

One can, with some effort, analyze several Iron Age Cilician rulers' names as Luwian (Kate, Kirri, Pihirim as attested in Assyrian sources, and also Warika, if read thus), but the operative phrase is *with some effort*, and I will spare readers such attempts. Etymologies of personal names are useful as evidence only if they are transparent, such as Luwian *Aza-tiwada-* 'the Sun God favored/favors' (see on this analysis Melchert 2021:370), **Sanda-warri-* 'the help of Sanda', the correct Luwian source of *Sanduarri* attested in Assyrian sources (with Simon 2014:97–98),[14] *Massana-azammi-* 'favored by the gods' attested in *MSN(ʾ)ZMŠ*

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14   *Pace* Hawkins (CHLI I:45), the equation with *Azatiwada-* is quite impossible and must be emphatically rejected, along with the historical inferences based on it (see further below).

in Cebelireis Dağı.[15] Furthermore, as is widely acknowledged, in the cultural melange of Iron Age Cilicia and surrounding areas it is dangerous to draw any inferences from personal names about the heritage or self-identity of the bearers. Nothing requires that Awarku or W(a)rika have any identifiable linguistic affinity (Indo-European, Hurrian, or Semitic), any more than their putative forebear Mopsus.

A final putative trace of Greek in KARATEPE 1 is the Phoenician epithet of Ba'al *KRNTRYŠ*, analyzed by Schmitz (2009) as reflecting Greek *κορυνητήριος 'mace-bearing,' comparing Phoenician *B'L ṢMD* 'Ba'al of the mace.' One may ask, with Younger (2009:16), why a Phoenician text would use a Greek term instead of the Phoenician. Matessi (in this volume) has suggested rather that *KRNTRYŠ* reflects a toponym, namely Kelenderis, referring to one of many local hypostases of Ba'al. This is formally impeccable, but the distance from Karatepe to Kelenderis is considerable, and the role of Ba'al *KRNTRYŠ* in KARATEPE 1 is surprisingly prominent for an imported deity: he is not only established by Azatiwada in his new eponymous city, but is also to be worshiped by all the river lands, to bless Azatiwada with life and health and preeminence over every king, and is (somewhat redundantly), along with all the gods of the city, to give Azatiwada long days, many years, and old age.

The Luwian text in the first mention (§ 47) is, unhappily, lost, and in the third mention, (§ 51) has only the decorative epithet *ARHA u-sa-nú-wa-mi-sá* 'highly blessing, beneficent.'[16] However, the reference in the latter to ("CASTRUM") *há+ra/i-ní-sà-si* |DEUS-*SA₄-zi* 'the fortress's gods' is highly suggestive[17] because in § 40, Azatiwada claims that Ba'al (= Luwian Tarhunza) at least supported

There is no evidence that *Azatiwada-* ever contained a nasal. One should also avoid translating Luwian *aza-* as 'to love.' It is used exclusively with deities as the subject (Gérard 2004) and takes as a determinative (LITUUS) and (OCULUS), making it a verb of vision (NB: ᴵDEUS-*na*-(OCULUS)*á-za-mi-sá* KARATEPE 4 § 2). Its primary sense is thus 'to regard,' hence 'to have high regard for, favor.' It has nothing to do with emotional or physical passion.

15 This is not the place to discuss in detail the personal names of that inscription, but if one is to treat *'šLPRN* quite plausibly as an *a*-stem **Assulaparna-* and take the final -*š* in *MSN(')ZMŠ* as the reanalyzed Luwian nominative ending /-is/, as seems necessary, then consistency demands that one analyze *MTŠ*, *KLŠ*, and *PHL(')Š* also as reflecting Luwian *i*-stems, not *a*-stems. The alternative suggestion of Mosca and Russell (1987:11), that *KLŠ* matches Κιλλις attested in Greek sources, is far superior to that of *Kulla* in Hittite.

16 Given all that he is asked to do for Azatiwada, this active reading of the participle is far more likely than 'highly blessed.' As in Hittite, Luwian past participles without expressed object can be active in sense. Cf. "EDERE"-*tà-mi-i-sa* |*u-wa/i-mi-i-sá* 'having eaten (and) drunk' KULULU 2 § 3.

17 I retain the standard rendering of Luwian /xarnis(a)-/, but it is clear that here and elsewhere it does not refer to a purely military installation, but rather to a fortified city,

him in building the fortified city, if he did not instigate it. This suggests that the subsequent epithet ᴋʀɴ-ᴛʀʏš is a rendering of a Luwian one naming the Ba'al of the /xarnis-/ (omission of the suffix /-is-/ in a compound would not be surprising). Analysis of the second part is less certain, but Luwian has a verb /tarrawa-/ with the sense 'to establish, institute' (see Melchert 2020a:547), and Hittite attests also a participle *tarrawīmmiuš* (KBo 64.15 ii 1 in broken context), suggesting that there was a competing stem **tarrawi-*. A derived noun **tarrawiya-* 'act of establishing, instituting' would be expected (for the process, see Sasseville 2020:129). I therefore suggest, with due reserve, that ᴋʀɴ-ᴛʀʏš reflects a Luwian epithet **harna-tarrawiyassis* 'of establishing the fortified city,' a hypostasis of Ba'al as the founder and patron of the city Azatiwadaya.[18]

We inevitably return to the matter of whether Hiyawa, in reference to a region of Cilicia Pedia, is derived from Ahhiyawa, now almost universally recognized as referring to Mycenaean Greece or some part thereof. As already indicated above (fn. 5), there is no merit to the proposal of Oreshko (2013) that *Á-*429-wa/i-* in ᴋᴀʀᴀᴛᴇᴘᴇ 1 is to be read as *Á-ʜɪʏᴀ-wa/i-* instead of *Á-ᴛᴀɴᴀ-wa/i-* (see also the criticism by Simon 2018b:316–317). Furthermore, against the implication of Yakubovich (2015b) the evidence of the ᴀʀsᴜᴢ inscriptions (text in Dinçol et al. 2015) also argues decisively against Oreshko's reinterpretation. As already argued by Hawkins (2015b:54) (see further Melchert 2019b:362, fn. 18, also on the readings) the ᴀʀsᴜᴢ text §§ 11–14 (cited here from the more complete A.1) precludes that **429-sa* and *hi-ya-wa/i*(ʀᴇɢɪᴏ) have the same referent: **429-sa-pa-wa/i-mu*(ᴜʀʙs) (ʟɪɢɴᴜᴍ)*tara/i-wa/i* |ᴘᴏɴᴇʀᴇ-*wa/i-ta a-wa/i* sᴜᴘᴇʀ+*ra/i* ᴄʀᴜs-*ha wa/i-tá-*a* |*hi-ya-wa/i-ha*(ʀᴇɢɪᴏ) |(ᴘᴇs₂)*tara/i-zi-i-ha a-wa/i* |ᴘʀᴀᴇ-*i* ᴄᴀᴘᴇʀᴇ+ᴄᴀᴘᴇʀᴇ-**417-na*(ᴜʀʙs) *mi-na-*a* |**273-i-na* |*hi-nu-wa/i-ha* "Adana put the *stick* to me, and I prevailed. I also turned to Hiyawa and caused my weapon to reach forth (to) (the city) X."[19] The action against the city in Hiyawa cannot possibly refer to the response to the aggressive act by Adana.[20]

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one with walls and likely a citadel (Hittite ᴜʀᴜ.ʙàᴅ or ᴜʀᴜ *witant-* 'built' cities), usually implying a city of some importance. Cf. Trameri 2020:283–287 on the treaty of Zidanza with Pilliya of Kizzuwatna and the remarks of Casabonne (2002:188). In ᴋᴀʀᴀᴛᴇᴘᴇ 1, the Phoenician consistently has ǫʀᴛ 'city' for Luwian /xarnis(a)-/ when it refers to Azatiwadaya.

18   One does miss any trace of the -*w*-, but the same is true of ᴅɴɴʏᴍ < **Adanawanni-*.

19   While /taru-/ in Luwian can mean 'wood' or 'tree,' it is not clear that it can mean 'stick.' I therefore take the spelling "ʟɪɢɴᴜᴍ"-*ru-wa/i-i* in A.2 §11 as nom.-acc.sg. of a derived /tar(u)wit-/ 'thing of wood, stick,' allowing the more natural expression 'put the stick to me' for the surely hostile act of Adana. Since the last sentence surely reflects a military action, I also assume with Yakubovich (2019:549) that **273-i-na* is /warpin/ 'weapon.'

20   The attempt of Yakubovich (2015b:58) to circumvent this by referring to the action taken

However, Yakubovich (2015b:57) is quite right to reject the false contrast of Hawkins (2015b:54) between Adana the city and Hiyawa the land, in an effort to equate them. The variation between *429-*sa* … (URBS) in ARSUZ 1 and *429-*sa* … (REGIO) in ARSUZ 2 merely reconfirms that Adana was both a city and a city-state with territory. Moreover, in the 10th century, the latter and Hiyawa may easily have been *separate* territories. The phrasing of the passage suggests that Suppiluliuma first repulsed an attempt by Adana to interfere with his capture of Arsuz and then forestalled any interference from Hiyawa with a show of force against one of the latter's cities.[21] A century later, Shalmaneser III treats Que as a unified kingdom in his narratives. Whether it included Hiyawa is hard to determine; by the 8th century, it did, at least according to the account of Warika (see below).

As to Hiyawa, the characterization by Trameri (2020:41, with fn. 10) of what I wrote in Melchert 2019b:361–362 is highly misleading. I said merely that aphaeresis in Luwian of a foreign name was possible—not that it was true in this case—and I explicitly cited as cause for doubt what was (and is, in my opinion) the convincing identification by Gander (2012:287–289, following others) of URU*Hi-ya*-[] in the Annals of Arnuwanda I (KUB 23.21 ii 6') in the context of *Adaniya* and [*Š*]*inuwana* as *Hiyawa*.[22] There is no chance that Greeks were present in significant numbers in Cilicia in the late 15th/early 14th century.

Furthermore, this occurrence also tells us that, once again, Hiyawa began as yet another city-state, as already shown by *hi-ya-wa/i-sa-ha*(URBS) in ÇİNEKÖY §§1 and 6. The narrative in ARSUZ suggests that it was distinct from, but not far from, Adana or Arsuz. That the city Hiyawa appears only once in Hittite sources argues for its being in the south of Cilicia, and in the Bronze Age it was likely a minor center without political or religious importance. That in no way precludes its having gained prominence centuries later due to actions of Warika. It is worth underscoring, however, that the Phoenician version of ÇİNEKÖY employs *DNNYM* in §6 for *hi-ya-wa/i-sa*(URBS). It would appear that Warika

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against 'this city' (i.e., Arsuz or a place very near it) in §§9–10 is futile. The 'also' makes absolutely clear that the action against Hiyawa in §§13–14 is *in addition to* and thus separate from that against Adana in §12.

21   The Luwian verb *hi-nu*- 'cause to reach' (or similar) may be construed with an accusative plus dat.-loc. of goal or with a double accusative (cf. KARKAMIŠ A6 §§2–3; text Hawkins 2000:124). The city name may thus be either. Against Dillo 2016:45 et al., PRAE-*i* is Luwian /pri:/ 'forth, out,' not /parran/ 'before, in front.' Non-use of 'prevailed' or 'took down' still suggests a display of force rather than an attack.

22   Nothing has changed, to my knowledge: the only complete city name in Hittite sources with a comparable shape is URU*Hiyašna*, whose location near Tawiniya and Hattuša totally precludes its restoration in KUB 23.21.

had, for whatever motivation, made Hiyawa his capital and thus an autonym for his kingdom. The overall attestation of Hiyawa makes it hard to date the *interpretatio graeca* of Ὑπαχαίοι much earlier than Warika.

As argued by Novák (2021:403), the archaeological record shows a continuity that does not support dramatic changes in culture and identity in Early Iron Age Plain Cilicia. Furthermore, available evidence (Novák 2021:436–437) suggests Cypro-Phoenician influence, not Cypro-Greek (cf. Chapter 10 in this volume). One must stress that *influence* does not mean significant immigration of Phoenicians, either. In sum, I find none of the argumentation for the Greek migration hypothesis compelling. Use of Phoenician in public inscriptions is a cultural matter (*pace* Simon 2018b:326–327).[23] That Phoenician was held to be the prestige language is clear from the respective disposition of the Phoenician and Luwian inscriptions at both Karatepe and Çineköy. Yakubovich (forthcoming) has now presented compelling arguments (against Melchert 2021: 359–375) that the primary text of the Karatepe bilingual is Phoenician, which Azatiwada then had translated into Luwian. Whatever redactional relationship one assumes for the two versions, it reflects the dual goals of the local ruler who commissioned it: to display to all viewers that he knew the criteria that such a public inscription had to meet in the cultural milieu (in both language use and diction), but also to assert his own self-identity in the Luwian version. This is not the creation of a newcomer.

2   The Land

Cilicia Pedia is a rich alluvial plain dominated by several major rivers: the Göksu (Gr. Καλύκαδνος), Berdan (Gr. Κύδνος), Seyhan (Hitt. *Šamri/Sapara*, Luw. *Sabri*, Gr. Σάρος), and Ceyhan (Gr. Πύραμος).[24] Throughout its history, these rivers have brought alternating periods of both great agricultural-based prosperity and of widespread malarial swamps, right up to the 20th century CE. Achievement of the former has required intensive efforts at controlling water resources, while failure to do so has led to the latter (cf. Novák et al. 2019b:10; Rutishauser 2020:158–159, 164). It is thus no accident that both Azatiwada and Warika include land reclamation projects among their accomplishments (in

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23   It is significant that ivrİz 2 in Tabal (Tuwana) is a Luwian–Phoenician bilingual. It is hard to see how Greek immigrants would be responsible for this usage.

24   See Novák and Rutishauser 2017:135, but Hittite *Purana* is likely not the Πύραμος. See Hawkins and Weeden 2017:292–293. For a thorough treatment of the landscape, geomorphology, climate, and settlement patterns of Cilicia Pedia, see Rutishauser 2020.

the context of the Ceyhan and Seyhan, respectively). Oreshko (2019[2021]:230–231) has offered a compelling new interpretation of the difficult Luwian text of §11 of KARATEPE 1: *kwi/a-pa-wá/í* |(*255)*ma+ra/i-ya-ní-zi* |ARHA |*ma-ki-sa-há*. Already van den Hout (2010) had disproven previous interpretations by pointing out that the determinative *255 was elsewhere associated with grain (and may represent a grain pit) and compared ᴬˑˢᴬ*mariyani-* occurring in Hittite contexts and clearly referring to a type of field. He also argued correctly (2010:240–241) that use of the adverb /kʷippa/ shows that §11 must be the concluding clause of a series of ameliorative acts (against Oreshko 2019[2021]:231) and does *not* go with the following reference to removing evils from the land, as previously assumed.

However, as Oreshko correctly asserts, van den Hout's interpretation of the clause as "I thus accumulated the *mariyana*-field crops in great numbers" is not entirely satisfactory. First, in context it seems redundant following §7 "I filled the Paharean granaries" (Hawkins 2000:49). Second, and more seriously, it does not work at all for the ritual context of ᴬˑˢᴬ*mariyani-*, which serves as a dumping place for contaminated ritual materials. For the latter, a marsh or swamp is appropriate, and Oreshko makes a strong case for reinterpreting KARATEPE 1 §11 as "I drained the swamps/marshlands."[25]

Oreshko (2019[2021]:225–229) and Hawkins (2017) differ significantly in their reading and interpretation of §8 in ÇİNEKÖY, but regardless of whether one thinks the reference is to marshes or barrages, §9 makes clear that Warika reclaimed fields (one may think of polders) and settled towns in them.[26]

Iron Age Cilicia Pedia was also famous for its horses. The matter of the Kawaean carriage in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §7 has already been discussed above. The more famous episode is King Solomon's purchase of horses from Que (Kawa), reported in 1 Kings 10:28 and 2 Chronicles 1:16.

3   Languages and Speakers

It is easy to agree with Trameri (2020:102) that one should eschew references to ethnicity or identity and limit oneself to populations of speakers (cf. similar remarks in Melchert 2003a:2–3). However, the severe limitations of our sources

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25   Since reclaiming the swampy ground for agricultural use would likely require use of dikes (see below on ÇİNEKÖY), use of the determinative *255/256 is also entirely in order.

26   Hawkins's readings of the signs are far more convincing, but the resulting syntax is problematic. Oreshko's attempt to interpret *za-ya* as an adverb 'here' has no support anywhere in Luwian. Fortunately for our purposes, the basic sense of the passage is clear.

problematize even reference to speakers. Due to the importation and adaptation of Hurro-Luwian rituals and cults from Kizzuwatna by the Kingdom of Hattuša, we may reasonably infer significant numbers of Hurrian and Luwian speakers in Kizzuwatna in the Late Bronze Age (Trameri 2020:100–117). However, the indirect nature of this evidence prevents us from reaching any firm conclusions regarding relative proportions of speakers, the degree of bi- or multilingualism, and the presence (or absence) of other spoken languages among the general population.

We have even less to go on when it comes to Iron Age Cilicia Pedia. I have already discussed the status of Phoenician as a cultural language, and there is broad agreement that evidence for Phoenicians as a significant component of the inhabitants is lacking. The nature of the Luwian version of KARATEPE 1 gives some basis for inferring that Azatiwada identified himself culturally as Luwian, but we may question the extent to which such an attitude was shared by contemporary citizens. The degree of continuity in the archaeological record for Cilicia Pedia in the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age following the end of the Hittite Empire (Novák 2021:403) leaves room for doubt that there were large-scale shifts in population. We thus have no strong reasons to think that the Luwian and Hurrian speakers all vanished, replaced by others. The honest answer, however, is that we just do not know which language(s) most inhabitants of the region used in their daily lives. The lack (to this point!) of any Aramaic inscriptions is striking, but what (if any) inferences we may draw from this is quite unclear. One would expect that increasing (if at times intermittent) control by Assyria would have had sociolinguistic consequences, but again we have no way to prove this. In sum, the fact that our few indigenous sources stem from elites renders any statements about language use in the general population little better than guesses.

4   History

I have already expressed my strong disbelief that the reference to Kawa in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 7 refers to a hostile encounter of Katuwa of Karkamiš and forces of Que/Cilicia (*contra* Novák 2021:404, who reads too much into the quite tentative remarks of Hawkins 2000:105, 2005:153). The episode described in ARSUZ 1 and 2 §§ 11–14 certainly does refer to a confrontation of a King Suppiluliuma of Palastin with both Adana and Hiyawa, which in the late 10th century are treated as distinct entities. It is important not to read too much into the expression of § 12 *a-wa/i* SUPER+*ra/i* CRUS-*ha* "I prevailed" (lit. "stood above").

This implies only that Suppiluliuma defeated an attack or incursion by Adana, not that he himself invaded the latter, much less conquered it (correct on this point, Dillo 2016:41–42). The further action against Hiyawa was also limited to a single city, whose name (as often) unfortunately is hidden behind a logogram combination.[27] We thus learn little about the location of Hiyawa other than further reason to locate it in the southern part of Cilicia Pedia.

For the history of Q(a)we in the 9th century, as reflected in Assyrian sources, I refer readers to the treatments of Hawkins (CHLI I:41 and 2006–2008:191–192) and of Novák (2021:405–406). I may also be brief regarding the history of Que in the 8th century, as I find entirely convincing the account of Novák (2021:444–446), specifically his Solution 1. I need only highlight the points that lead me to this conclusion, some of which have been cited earlier in this chapter. In addition to his archaeological arguments for redating Karatepe to the early to mid-8th century (2021:417–435), there is the total lack of mention of Assyrians by Azatiwada in KARATEPE 1. This is in stark contrast to the statement of Warika in ÇİNEKÖY §6, that Hiyawa and Assyria had become 'one house.' KARATEPE must be older than ÇİNEKÖY, and Azatiwada must be older than Warika (2021:442). As we have already seen, this is not problematic, because the previous identification of Sanduwarri in Assyrian sources with Azatiwada is quite impossible. The latter represents a Luwian name *Sanda-warri (with Simon 2014a:97–98).

As summarized by Novák (2021:442–444), Azatiwada played for the ruling house of Mopsus in Adana(wa) the role played by Yariri for the ruling house of Astiruwa in Karkamiš. By the authority of his lord, King Awarku, Azatiwada not only preserved, but by his account even expanded the power, wealth, and prosperity of Adana(wa). He further saw to it that Awarku's rightful heir assumed the throne. The lack of any *damnatio memoriae* at Karatepe suggests that Azatiwada, having passed on the power in Adana(wa), successfully withdrew to live in peace in Azatiwadaya.

Of the two alternatives suggested by Novák (2021:444–448), I strongly prefer the first. One reason has already been given: Awarku and W(a)rika cannot be the same name. Furthermore, I do not find it at all credible that Azatiwada, if he

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27   The attempt of Dillo (2016:48–49) to read CAPERE+CAPERE (*42, a pair of downward grasping hands) as a variant of MAGNUS 'great' is quite impossible. The latter (*363) is attested in its standard shape already on Empire seals. In any case, Luwian *ura-* is always in cuneiform spelled *u-ra-* (pointing to /ora-/, as per note 13 above), whereas the city name is consistently spelled URU*ú-ru-uš-ša*. As per Novák (2021:405, fn. 31), the latter may be more plausibly identified with Rhosos = Arsuz. The attestations of URU*ú-ru-uš-ša* speak neither for nor against this (cf. Goetze 1940:41–47).

played the role of guardian for an underage prince, would say that he received his authority to rule Adana(wa) from the prince (KARATEPE 1 § 2).

I have only one reservation about the *Solution 1* presented (2021:444–446). The paleographic arguments presented by Lemaire (1983:16) for dating the Hasanbeyli inscription as contemporary with that of Karatepe remove any problem of identifying the Awarku of both as the same person. However, the dating of Cebelireis Dağı by the authors of the *editio princeps* to the late 7th century (Mosca and Russell 1987:4) must be addressed. If their dating is upheld, the WRYK = W(a)rika of that inscription cannot be the King of Adana/Hiyawa of the mid-8th century, but rather a later heir. A reassessment of the paleography is sorely needed.

Iron Age Luwian in its Anatolian and Syro-Mesopotamian Contexts

Federico Giusfredi and Valerio Pisaniello

1 Introduction

The topic of the present chapter is represented by the areal relationships of Iron Age Luwian with the languages of Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia. Sources on Iron Age Luwian can be first divided into two main groups: on the one hand, we have many direct sources (i.e., Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Anatolia and Syria); on the other hand, Luwian is also indirectly attested in loanwords and proper names contained in inscriptions in other languages. We also know of hieroglyphic inscriptions recording a language different from Luwian, namely inscriptions on jar fragments from ALTINTEPE probably dating to the 8th century (which record only liquid measures in the Urartian language) and two short Urartian inscriptions on two bronze objects from the same site.[1]

Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, furthermore, can be classified according to different parameters, such as the languages involved, their geographical distribution, their material supports, and their content. Although most Iron Age Luwian inscriptions are monolingual (that is, they include only a Luwian text in hieroglyphic script), a small group of multilingual (usually bilingual) inscriptions can be found (Fig. 3.2). Two Luwian–Phoenician bilingual inscriptions are found in Cilicia. One is the long inscription of KARATEPE, dated to the reign of the ruler Azatiwada, whose Luwian and Phoenician texts are inscribed twice on two city gates—the Upper Gate and the Lower Gate—in the fortifications of the site (with a third, slightly different Phoenician text on a divine statue inside the Upper Gate).[2] The other is the bilingual inscription of ÇİNEKÖY, issued by the ruler Warika, written on a monument representing the Storm God on a chariot driven by oxen.[3] From Cilicia also comes the trilingual stele of İNCİRLİ, by the same ruler Warika, with two short Luwian and Assyrian texts on the front face and a longer Phoenician inscription running on

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1 Cf. Klein 1974. On the jar fragments, see also CHLI I:588–589.
2 Cf. CHLI II; CHLI I:45–68; CHLI III:178–186.
3 Cf. Tekoğlu et al. 2000; CHLI III:108–113.

all four sides of the stele.[4] Two monolingual Phoenician inscriptions have also been found in Cilicia, at Hasanbeyli and Cebelireis Dağı, both featuring Luwian personal names (see below). Another Luwian–Phoenician bilingual inscription, İVRİZ 2, still unpublished, comes from Tabal and is dated to the reign of Warpalawa (late 8th century BCE).[5] Finally, from Tell Ahmar comes the trilingual Luwian–Assyrian–Aramaic building inscription of ARSLANTAŞ, written on a portal lion, but the Luwian inscription is quite fragmentary and unclear, while the other two texts are still unpublished.[6] Duplicates of the three inscriptions have been also identified on a second portal lion from the same site.[7]

From a geographical point of view, Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions have been found in a large area covering central, southern, and southeastern Anatolia, as well as northern Syria, whose boundaries can be roughly identified as the river Kızılırmak to the north (although some inscriptions have been found north of the Kızılırmak),[8] the Türkmen-Karahöyük mound in the Konya plain to the west, the site of Tell Halaf/Guzana in northern Mesopotamia to the east, and the Hama region to the south (Fig. 3.1). This large area has been divided by Hawkins into ten regions, which, following the order of his *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, include Cilicia, Karkemiš, Tell Ahmar, Maraş, Malatya, Commagene/Kummuh, Amuq, Aleppo, Hama, and Tabal. Outside of this area, Hieroglyphic Luwian documents have been found at Assur, namely seven letters written on lead strips, for which a connection with Karkemiš has been suggested, perhaps when it was an Assyrian province.[9]

As to the material support of inscriptions, most Hieroglyphic Luwian texts are written on stone: steles, statues, altars, monuments, column bases (NİĞDE 1), but also stone bowls (BEIRUT, BABYLON 2 and 3), door jambs (HAMA 4), and the like. A limited number of texts are written on clay (e.g., the KARKAMIŠ sherd, the ALİŞAR ostracon, the PERSEPOLIS bowl sherd, the HAMA fragment 6, and the ALTINTEPE pithoi with Urartian liquid measures in hieroglyphic script). Other inscriptions on clay include some bullae (e.g., HAMA fragments 7–10, and the bullae of LİDAR) and one clay tablet (NINEVEH 1). Texts written on metal support include, for example, the KULULU lead strips and fragments, the ASSUR letters and the KIRŞEHİR letter, the TRAGANA bronze bowl

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4   Luwian and Assyrian texts are badly preserved and thus still unpublished, whereas the Phoenician text has been published by Kaufman (2007). In fact, there is a fourth text on the stele, written in Greek in Byzantine times and unrelated to the others.

5   Cf. CHLI I:526; CHLI III:158–159.

6   Cf. CHLI I:246–248.

7   Cf. CHLI I:226.

8   For a more detailed discussion on the northern border, see Simon 2017a.

9   Cf. CHLI I:533–534 and Dillo 2017, with references.

and the NIMRUD silver bowl, and a horse frontlet from Miletus.[10] Finally, some short inscriptions from Hama are written on shell fragments (HAMA 9, HAMA fragment 5).

1.1 *The Corpus of Iron Age Luwian Inscriptions*

The classification of Hieroglyphic Luwian texts according to their content is more problematic and far less trivial, because the type of categorization is necessarily influenced by the perspective from which the text is observed.

As a good starting point, we may consider the typology provided by Giusfredi (2010:23–24), who divided hieroglyphic inscriptions into the following categories:

1) Royal inscriptions, issued by kings of the different states, with celebrative and propagandistic purpose. A sub-categorization is possible in: (a) war inscriptions, mostly concerned with military campaigns and internal power struggles; (b) religious inscriptions, concerning the institution or restoration of cults; (c) building inscriptions, which is the major group, with emphasis on building activities of rulers and dedication to gods;

2) Vassal inscriptions, made by rulers who do not bear royal titles, whose content may be analogous to the one of royal inscriptions;

3) Funerary inscriptions of commemorative nature (e.g., TİLSEVET, KARKAMİŠ A5b);

4) Economic texts (e.g., KULULU lead strips).

Some considerations are in order. First of all, the distinction between royal and non-royal inscriptions, although undoubtedly important, can be set aside here because vassal texts may show content similar to the royal texts. Instead, differences may concern certain elements in their structure. Furthermore, of course, such a typology cannot be clear-cut, especially with regard to royal and vassal inscriptions and their possible sub-categorizations. Indeed, different elements may co-occur in the same inscription, such as KARKAMİŠ A11a, a building inscription in which the ruler Katuwa celebrates the construction of temples for the local Storm God, which also contains brief historical paragraphs concerning a revolt against Katuwa.[11]

Even more challenging are those cases where the type we would be inclined to assign to a given inscription, based on structural elements, seems not to reflect its likely primary purpose. For example, KARKAMİŠ A11b+c is a building inscription with instruction for sacrifices to deities (cf. the deictic ref-

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10   See Simon 2019a:128 fn. 3; CHLI III:171–172.

11   See CHLI I:94–100.

erence in §15: |*za-zi-ha-wa/i-mi-i* (DOMUS.SUPER)*ha+ra/i-sà-tá-ni-zi pa-ti-i-**a ("ANNUS")*u-si* |AEDIFICARE.*MI-ha*, "*These* balconies I built myself in that year"), but the historical account of Katuwa's military exploits is far more extensive than the section actually concerning the ruler's building activity, such that it may be regarded as a war inscription, as it is in Giusfredi (2010:23). Similarly, KULULU 4 is a funerary stele erected for Ruwa by his brother Hul(l)i, but it contains a posthumous royal inscription narrated in the first person (quite unusually, in the past tense: EGO-*wa/i-mi ru-wa/i-sa₄* IUDEX-*ní-sa á-sá-ha*, "I *was* the righteous Ruwa").

Therefore, one should probably distinguish between (1) a functional classification, based on the primary aim of the inscription, which also may not always be straightforward, given that inscriptions may sometimes have multiple purposes, and (2) a structural analysis, for which a modular approach is perhaps more appropriate, instead of assigning the text as a whole to a given category.

Indeed, Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions include a number of different thematic sections, each of which may or may not be present and be given more or less space in the architecture of the text. These blocks, occurring in a relatively fixed order, include: (a) an introduction with the name of the "author" of the inscription or the person for whom the monument was built, optionally followed by (b) titles and genealogy; (c) a statement of divine favor, often connected with (d) military exploits of the ruler and other successful actions, generally presented as evidence of divine blessing; (e) foundation and building activities; (f) institution of cults; (g) instructions for offerings and sacrifices to deities (and possibly to the deceased, in case of funerary inscriptions); and (h) blessing and curse formulae.

Because (as mentioned) each of these structural elements may be given more or less space, regardless of the main motivation of the inscription, a functional classification should not consider them, but should instead focus on identifying the primary goal of the inscription. Therefore, we may provisionally assume the following functional typology:

1)   War inscriptions, where the narrative of the ruler's exploits represents the main purpose;
2)   Building inscriptions, which commemorate the building activity of the rulers;
3)   Cultic inscriptions, primarily concerned with the institution of cults;
4)   Votive inscriptions, concerning the dedication of objects to the deity;
5)   Funerary inscriptions, whose main purpose is the commemoration of a deceased person;
6)   Economic texts, concerning economic matters.

In addition to the more or less elaborate inscriptions belonging to the above-mentioned types, seals should of course be mentioned, although they are far fewer in the Iron Age than in the Bronze Age, in which they represent the predominant category of hieroglyphic texts.[12]

As for indirect sources on Iron Age Luwian, most consist of Luwian proper names included in inscriptions written in different Semitic languages from various areas, namely:

1) Inscriptions from the reign of Yadiya/Sam'al (Zincirli), where kings and officials bore both Luwian and Semitic names and wrote inscriptions in Phoenician, Sam'alian (a local Aramaic dialect, possibly influenced by Luwian), Old Aramaic, and Hieroglyphic Luwian;[13]

2) Phoenician inscriptions: besides Phoenician versions of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from KARATEPE, ÇİNEKÖY, İNCİRLİ, İVRİZ 2, and the monolingual Phoenician inscription of *KLMW* (= Kilamuwa/Kulamuwa) at Zincirli, two other monolingual Phoenician inscriptions attesting Luwian names have been found at Cebelireis Dağı[14] and Hasanbeyli[15] in Cilicia;

3) Assyrian annalistic texts and steles dealing with Neo-Hittite states;

4) Imperial Aramaic inscriptions from Cilicia during the Achaemenid period (e.g., Saraïdin, 6th–5th c.; Hemite, 4th c.; Kesecek Köyü, 4th c.; and Yukarı Bozkuyu, 4th c.).

2 Lexical Interference

In the following sections, we will offer an overview on lexical borrowings, from and into Hieroglyphic Luwian, with specific reference to the contacts occurring at the Syro-Anatolian and Syro-Mesopotamian interfaces. The material is not particularly rich, probably as a consequence of the conservative and rather idiosyncratic character of the Hieroglyphic Luwian scribal tradition in the context of the Early Iron Age, and the quite standardized character of the inscriptions.

2.1 *Luwian as the Model Language*
Identifying Luwian loanwords in languages with which Luwian was presumably in contact in the first millennium BCE (Assyrian, northwest Semitic lan-

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12   Cf. CHLI I:572–587.

13   Cf. Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021b.

14   Cf. Mosca and Russell 1987; Lemaire 1989; Röllig 2008; Bordreuil 2019; Giusfredi 2024.

15   Cf. Lemaire 1983.

guages, possibly Greek and Phrygian) is not an easy task, also because of the limited documentation. Leaving aside the complex issue of Luwian loanwords in Greek (cf. Chapter 14), assured Luwian words in texts in other languages are represented almost exclusively by proper names—either personal names, theonyms, or toponyms (see below).

An assured Luwian loanword in Akkadian (Neo-Assyrian), perhaps through Amorite intermediation, is *hilānu*, probably from the Hieroglyphic Luwian *hilan(a)*- 'gate, palace' (cf. Hittite *hila*- 'courtyard'),[16] occurring in the expression *bīt hilāni* 'portico' (*vel sim.*), sometimes associated with the Hittites (i.e., the Neo-Hittite states) in the texts,[17] cf., e.g., *bīt appāte tamšīl ekal Hatti ša ina lišāni Amurri bīt hilāni išassûšu*, "a room with windows like (that) of a Hittite palace, which, in the language of Amurru, is called *bīt hilāni*" (Annals of Sennacherib, RINAP 3 1:82).[18]

It has been suggested that the Urartian verb *šu*-, probably 'fill,'[19] only occurring with (É)*'ari*- 'silo' as object, may be a borrowing from the Luwian verb *suwe/a*- 'fill,' also occurring in very similar contexts. Given that Urartian *šu*- appears not to have inner-Hurro-Urartian *comparanda* and its domain of use is limited to a formulaic context, the likelihood that it was in fact a loanword increases.[20]

A likely loanword—which is, however, a divine epithet—can be found, unsurprisingly, in the KTMW stele from Zincirli, written in a diastratic variant of Sam'alian (Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021b). In the list of deities receiving offerings, the first place is occupied by an elsewhere unattested hypostasis of the Storm God, the quite obscure Hadad QR/DPD/RL, which has been tentatively explained by Yakubovich (2011:175) as reflecting Luw. *harpatalli- 'ally,' which is, however, so far unattested in Luwian inscriptions.

In the KTMW stele, some calques may also be identified. Besides divine names, which will be dealt with below, we should first discuss here the case of NBŠ 'soul.' At the end of the offering list, the last offer is due to KTMW's NBŠ. This word has different meanings in Aramaic, the basic ones being 'life, breath, soul.' Therefore, according to Pardee (2009), the text would say: "a ram for my

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16   See eDiAna s.v. Hieroglyphic Luwian /hilan-/, PORTA-la-na- 'gate, palace' (https://www
      .ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=3683).
17   Cf. Bossert 1933–1934; Meissner 1942; Singer 1975.
18   Other passages can be found in CAD H:184–185. The alleged occurrence in an OB letter from
      Mari (ARM 1 3 rev. 10') is probably to be read É.[D]AM-*ni*.
19   See Christiansen 2019a:137.
20   See Kossian 1997:29–30; Christiansen 2019a:138; and Bonfanti 2022:134–135. On the Luwian
      stem, see eDiAna s.v. Hieroglyphic Luwian /suwa-(i)?/, su-wa/i- 'to fill' (https://www.ediana
      .gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=802).

soul that (will be) in this stele," suggesting that the soul of the deceased actually lives in the stele after death. The same explanation is offered by Masson (2010) and Melchert (2010a), the latter stressing that the idea of a living soul independent from the body has a clear Anatolian background, occurring in a Hittite text that describes the journey of the soul after its departure from the body. However, such a text proves only that an idea of soul existed; there is no indication that the soul lived in the stele after death. Therefore, this idea could be an Iron Age innovation, supported by the twofold value of NBš in Aramaic, indicating both the 'soul/life' and the 'funerary monument,' as is clear from later Aramaic inscriptions.

More recently, Hawkins (2015a) suggested a different solution. According to him, NBš would be a calque on Luwian *atr(i)*-, appearing to mean both 'self' and 'image,' so that the offerings would not be due to the 'soul' of KTMW living in the stele, but to the 'image' of KTMW represented *on* the stele. No idea of an immortal soul would thus be involved. Hawkins's suggestion is noteworthy, and would find corroboration in some Luwian texts where offerings are prescribed for the statue of the owner of the inscription (cf. KARKAMIŠ A1a, MALPINAR). However, the word for *statue* occurring in these contexts is *tarud-*, whereas offerings to the *atr(i)*- are never mentioned. Thus, even though the hypothesis of a calque is tempting, it does not seem very likely.

Because neither the Hittite–Luwian nor the Semitic tradition appear to support the idea of the soul living in the stele, the interpretation of NBš in the KTMW inscription remains quite problematic. It may be the image of KTMW on the stele, as per Hawkins, although we should likely abandon the hypothesis of a calque on Luwian *atr(i)*-, which is unsupported by the Luwian sources. Otherwise, we could consider that NBš generically meant 'funerary monument,' as in later Aramaic inscriptions—and, in this case, its collocation would obviously be *by* the stele rather than *in* or *on* the stele.

Also note that at the end of the offering section in the Ördekburnu stele, offerings appear to be prescribed for the owner of the monument, as well as at the end of the KTMW stele (Lemaire and Sass 2013):

> (6) ... *LY* (7) *SL' MNḤ- BRKB'L . Š'*(8)*YN . LYM . WBKBB . Š'YN . LYM* (9) *WBMQM . MLKY . Š'YN . LY*
> "... Let him *present an offering*: for Rākib-El two sheep for the day, and for Kubaba two sheep for the day, and in the *place of the kings* (= royal necropolis) two sheep for me." (Ördekburnu 6–9)

The text appears to be asymmetric, because this last sentence shows a different structure compared to the preceding ones:

1.   *BRKB'L . Š'YN . LYM* = "for Rākib-El two sheep for the day"
2.   *WBKBB . Š'YN . LYM* = "for Kubaba two sheep for the day"
3.   *WBMQM . MLKY . Š'YN . LY* = "in the *place of the kings* two sheep for me"
However, a symmetry can be recovered through a slight addition that modifies the meaning of the clause, giving: *WBMQM . MLKY . Š'YN . LY⟨M⟩*, "to the *place of the kings* two sheep for the day," where the *place of the kings* may be a periphrasis for the tomb or the funerary monument. Otherwise, the beneficiary of the offerings may be the *MQM*, literally the 'standing object' of the kings, which may indicate the statues or the stelae. In any case, it may represent a possible equivalent to *NBŠ* in the *KTMW* stele, whether it means 'image' or 'funerary monument.'

A further calque on Luwian found in the *KTMW* stele may be *W'T* 'and now' (*w-* + *'T*) in line 6, which is not attested elsewhere in Sam'alian. Masson (2010:55) suggested that it may correspond to Luw. *zila* and *ziladuwa*/*zilatiya* 'then, subsequently,' although Pardee (2009:63) notes that the similar form *WK'T* occurs in Sfire Old Aramaic (KAI 224:24), and the use of the conjunction *w-* plus the word 'now' is well attested in northwest Semitic to mark the transition between topic and comment.

Finally, some potential Luwian loanwords may be found in Phrygian, namely *imroy* 'field(?),' from Luwian *im(ma)r(i)-* 'open country',[21] (α)τεαμα(ς), from Luwian *tiyamm(i)-* 'earth'; and perhaps ουταν 'punishment, spell,' from Luwian *utar*/*utn-* 'word, spell,' although it may instead be a cognate (for a discussion and references, see Chapter 8).

2.2   *Luwian as the Target Language*

Although Iron Age Luwian inscriptions have been found in areas where other languages were present, and the Neo-Hittite states had contacts with other populations, the number of foreign lexical items currently identified in Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions is surprisingly limited, if we exclude proper names. Indeed, only some Semitic (mostly, if not exclusively Akkadian) loanwords can be found, some of them not entirely assured, which generally belong to two categories: (1) titles and professional names, and (2) goods subject to commercial exchange. Thus, in a sense they are technical terms that appear only occasionally in Luwian texts, and this does not necessarily imply a full integration into the vocabulary of the language. It is perhaps not surprising that they are mostly

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21   See also eDiAna s.v. *im(ma)ra(/i)-* (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary .php?lemma=2062), in which the meaning 'estate, demesne' is suggested for the Phrygian *imro-*.

hapax legomena, although this may also depend on the quality of the available documentation.

The title (LIGNUM)*ha-za-ni-* occurring in CEKKE §14 (8th century BCE) has been convincingly related to the Akkadian title *hazan(n)u* 'mayor, burgomaster,'[22] also attested as an Akkadogram, ᴸᵁ*HAZANNU*, in Hittite texts, and as a loanword in Hurrian, *ha-zi-ya-na* in KBo 32.14 iii 25 (CTH 789, MS), matching ᴸᵁ*utniyašhan* in the Hittite translation.[23] A variant of the same title may occur in BULGARMADEN §10, *ha-⌈zi⌉-ia-ni-*, although the reading of the second sign is very uncertain. Although the loanword status of this title in Luwian and its ultimate Akkadian origin are quite assured, the exact path of transmission cannot be determined: the form *hazani-* in CEKKE clearly depends on the most common variant *hazan(n)u*, but it may have entered Luwian through Hittite intermediation, rather than via direct contact with Akkadian, while *haziyani-*, if it actually exists, appears to reflect either the MAss. variant *haziānu* or the variant *haziannu* rarely attested at Nuzi (besides *hazannu*) and also reflected in Hurrian, as mentioned (also note the unique—as far as we know—Akkadographic spelling ᴸᵁ*HA-AZ-ZI-YA-AN-NI* in the ritual of Allaiturahhi, KUB 24.13 iii 21′, belonging to the Hurrian milieu). Thus, a uniform borrowing scenario cannot be established.[24]

Another title with a convincing Akkadian explanation is the hapax ("*474") *sa-ri+i-ia-si-* occurring in the inscription ANCOZ 4, although unfortunately in fragmentary context. Because the hieroglyphic sign *474 determines only the title *wassinass(i)-*/*ussinass(i)-* 'attendant, servant,'[25] lit. '(he) of the body' (a genitival adjective built on the noun *wassina(/i)-* 'body'), Hawkins (CHLI I:349) suggested the derivation of ("*474")*sa-ri+i-ia-si-* from Akkadian *ša rēši* '(he) of the head > servant, eunuch,' also suggesting an explanation of Luwian *wassinass(i)-*/*ussinass(i)-* as a calque on the same Akkadian title.[26] As for the unex-

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22   Cf. CHLI I:149–150; Giusfredi 2012:155–155.

23   Cf. Neu 1996:182. Despite this connection, it is problematic to regard ᴸᵁ*utniyašha-* (= Sum. EN KUR*ᵀ¹*) as the Hittite reading concealed behind Akkadographic ᴸᵁ*HAZANNU* (see the discussion in Weeden 2011:215–218). Instead, it is possible that the title underwent semantic shift in Hurrian.

24   The specific meaning of the title cannot be assessed, which would also be helpful in order to evaluate the possibility of a borrowing intermediated by Hurrian for alleged *haziyani-* in BULGARMADEN, given the likely semantic shift of this title in Hurrian.

25   See the ACLT2 for the occurrences.

26   Conversely, the alleged calque DOMINUS-*nin zalalasin* from Akkadian *bēl narkabti* 'charioteer' (ASSUR letter D §9) quoted by Dardano (2018:367) most likely does not exist, because DOMINUS-*ni-wa/i* is best explained as a dat.sg. and thus cannot agree with the following genitival adjective.

pected change /eː/ > /ija/, one may imagine either a sporadic breaking[27] or a re-analysis as a Luwian genitival adjective in *-assa/i-*.[28]

The title ("LIGNUM")*su-ka-la-* (occurring only in EĞRİKÖY §3) probably reflects Akkadian *š/sukkallu* 'minister' (*vel sim.*), which in turn is a loanword from Sumerian sugal₇. The title is attested as a Sumerogram in Hittite and was also borrowed in Hurrian and regularly adapted as an *i*-stem, *šukkalli-* (cf. Richter 2012:408). Thus, Luwian thematization in *-a* appears to preclude a Hurrian path, although the precise borrowing scenario remains unclear.[29]

The noun (PUGNUS+PUGNUS)*i-ka+ra/i-* occurring in the inscription KARKAMIŠ A24a (9th–8th century BCE) has been recently traced back to Akkadian *ikkāru* 'farmer', also a loanword from Sumerian engar 'id.'[30]

Far more uncertain is the origin of the title *la-hi-na-la-* occurring in KULULU lead strip 2 §§1, 3, which has been tentatively explained as a borrowing from Akkadian (*a*)*lahhinu* (an administrative official) by Hawkins (CHLI I:513), adapted in Luwian by adding the native suffix *-alla-* that builds agent nouns.[31] The loss of initial /a-/ would not be problematic, because the variant *lahhinu* actually exists in NAss. and aphaeresis is often found in the adaptation of foreign material in Iron Age Luwian.[32] However, perhaps a full Anatolian explanation cannot be excluded, because an element *lahina-°* is also attested in Anatolian (seemingly Luwian) onomastics, cf. ᵐ*La-hi-na-*LÚ (= Lahinazidi) in KUB 13.35+ iii 22 (NS, CTH 293) and ᵁᴿᵁ*La-hi-na-aš-ši-iš* in KUB 17.35 iv 18 (NS, CTH 526.18),[33] whose etymology is, however, unclear. Were the base Anatolian, it might be somehow related to the noun *lāhh-* 'military campaign' (cf. Hittite ᴸᵁ*lahhiyala-* 'campaigner'),[34] although the existence of a stem **lahhin-* clearly connected with this noun cannot be independently proven.[35] We would

27   Cf. perhaps the personal name ¹*ia-hi-la-ti-sa-pa-* in KARKAMIŠ A7 §13, if it reflects the Hurrian name Ehli-Teššub.

28   See also Giusfredi 2012:157.

29   Cf. Giusfredi 2012:158. Earlier claims on a sporadic value *li* for the sign ⟨la⟩ (cf., e.g., Marazzi 1990:157 with previous references) seem to be no longer acceptable.

30   See Bauer and Yakubovich 2023:21–23. See also eDiAna s.v. Hieroglyphic Luwian /ikkara-(/i)-/, (PUGNUS+PUGNUS)*i-ka+ra/i-* 'peasant (?), farmer (?)' (http://www.dwaks.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dev/dictionary.php?lemma=952).

31   On this suffix, see Sasseville 2014–2015.

32   Cf. Melchert 2019b:359–360.

33   Cf. Laroche 1966a:104, 272.

34   See perhaps also the PN ¹*la-hi-ia-sá* in KULULU lead frag. 2.

35   One may possibly imagine an original adjective derived from the oblique stem of the noun *lahhiyatar* 'campaign,' **lahhiyannalli-* (cf. Hittite *kattawannalli-*, Luwian *kattawatnalli-*, both adj. < *kattawatar* 'enmity'), but this is a very unlikely solution because, although a sporadic change /-ija-/ > /-i-/ is attested in Luwian (cf. Melchert 2003b:183), Luwian

instead exclude a connection with the Hittite noun *lahni-* (a water-soluble substance), because the Hieroglyphic Luwian spelling *la-hi-na-la-* and the onomastic occurrences of *la-hi-na-°* mentioned above (if related) make it unlikely that the medial *-i-* is a merely graphic element.[36]

It has been suggested that the Luwian noun (*265)*mi-zi-na-la-* occurring in KARKAMIŠ A2+3 should be explained as an agent noun in *-alla/i-* meaning 'brewer', derived from a base that ultimately trace back to Akkadian *miz'u*, denoting a type of beer and wine. However, its derivational pattern remains partly unclear, and a full Indo-European etymology also remains possible.[37]

Turning to commercial goods, some terms occurring in the ASSUR letters have been traced back to Akkadian, but they are generally more uncertain than the titles dealt with above. The noun *ku-ru-pi* (ASSUR letter B § 5; F+G § 37) has been explained as a borrowing from Akkadian (Babylonian) *kuruppu* by Giusfredi (2010:214 fn. 427; 2012:155), denoting a basket. The previous connection with "OVIS"-*ru-pi* in BULGARMADEN § 11, with a consequent explanation as a kind of sacrificial sheep (CHLI I:544, with references), has no grounds other than a partial formal similarity.

More unclear is the origin of the noun (*472)*ma*(·*i*)*-sa₅+ra/i-* (or perhaps *472(-)*ma*(·*i*)*-sa₅+ra/i-*?) found in ASSUR letter A § 10, D § 7, which has been tentatively connected with Akkadian *mašru* 'teaseled (cloth)' < *mašāru* 'to teasel cloth' by Giusfredi (2010:212 fn. 420) and explained as a textile.[38] Less likely is a connection with *mašrû* 'wealth' (cf. Giusfredi 2012:157).

Following a brief comment by Yakubovich (2016a:87), Giusfredi (2020a) suggested that the noun *ka-mara/i+ra/i*, found in ASSUR letter F+G §§ 28, 31, may reflect the Assyrian noun *gammalu* 'camel' (only in NAss) borrowed in Luwian, showing rhotacism of original /l/ between vowels. Assyrian *gammalu* is generally regarded as a West Semitic loanword; therefore, Luwian *ka-mara/i+ra/i-* may also directly depend on a West Semitic source, provided that the identification with 'camel' is correct.

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does not show assimilation in the cluster /tn/. An Indo-European etymology is defended in the eDiAna s.v. /lahhinalla/, *la-hi-na-la-* (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=742), translated as 'soldier' and explained as a derivative of an unattested verb **/lahhina-/ < /lahhi-/ 'to campaign.'

36   On these possibilities, see also the discussion in Giusfredi 2012:155–157.

37   See the discussion in Bauer and Yakubovich 2023:23–27 and eDiAna s.v. Hieroglyphic Luwian /mizzinalla/, (*265)*mi-zi-na-la-* 'brewer, wine maker (?)' (http://www.dwaks.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dev/dictionary.php?lemma=3173).

38   See also eDiAna s.v. Hieroglyphic Luwian */masr(i)-ʔ/*, (*472)*ma-sa₅+ra/i-* '(a commodity)' (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=1163).

Beyond titles and commercial goods, another possible Akkadian loanword is the noun *ki-tara/i-sa* 'share, bequest' or the like,[39] allegedly */kitrid-/ + the neuter particle *=sa*, found in CEKKE §§13, 16, perhaps from Akkadian *kitru*, *kiterru* 'preferential share (of an estate),' occurring only at Nuzi and thus regarded as a Hurrian loanword, although currently not attested in Hurrian texts.[40] Furthermore, the Iron Age Luwian *irwi-* 'gazelle' most likely has a Semitic origin (cf. Akkadian *arwium*, *armû* 'id.'), although Hurrian intermediation is likely.[41]

Recently, Giusfredi (2020b:273–274) suggested that the Luwian verb (LOCUS) *pi-ta-ha-li-ya-*, explained as *pithaliya-*, found in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §4, is a Luwian derivative from an unattested noun **pithala/i-* borrowed from Akkad. *pēthallu* 'cavalry.'[42] Thus, the meaning of the Luwian verb would be 'supply troops' (*vel sim.*).

As for possible loanwords from languages different from Akkadian, it has been tentatively suggested that Luw. ("SCALPRUM")*ka-ti-na-*, denoting an unidentified dedicatory object, reflected Hurr. *kadinni* (a weapon), but other solutions are possible.[43]

3   Grammatical Interference

Whereas lexical borrowing represents a rather superficial interference phenomenon that does not require a situation of close linguistic contact between different communities of speakers, structural interference—which concerns grammatical structures—is something much deeper that occurs only when two or more language communities are in a situation of intense language contact (see Volume 1, Chapter 15).

As far as Iron Age Luwian and its neighboring languages are concerned, the different potential situations of language contact are often difficult to analyze because of the scant quantity and poor quality of the documentation (cf., e.g., the situation of Old Aramaic, mostly attested by isolated inscriptions scattered

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39   See CHLI I:149 for the meaning.

40   Cf. CAD K:468; CHLI I:149; Giusfredi 2012:155, eDiAna s.v. Hieroglyphic Luwian */kitrid-/, ki-tara/i-* 'share, bequest (?)' (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php ?lemma=1491).

41   See Simon 2023a:229.

42   Akkadian origin is granted by the phrase *halla petû*, lit. 'open the *hallu* (i.e., the region between the tights),' denoting the act of sitting on a horse (cf. CAD H:45).

43   See eDiAna s.v. Hieroglyphic Luwian /kaTin-?/, ("SCALPRUM")*ka-ti-na-* '(a dedicatory object), bowl?' (http://www.dwaks.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dev/dictionary.php?lemma=585).

across the Syro-Mesopotamian area and very different from one another from a dialectal point of view), because of our imperfect knowledge of the languages involved, and because grammatical interference is sometimes difficult to positively detect. Indeed, except for very rare phenomena such as the morpheme induction, grammatical interference does not necessarily introduce something strikingly new or create obvious agrammatical structures in the target language that would be easy to identify (provided, of course, that one had an adequate knowledge of the grammar of that language), but instead may simply determine the selection of a given morpheme or structure over another, perhaps more rare or marginal, but nonetheless grammatical. Therefore, clearly, in order to suggest the existence of a language contact scenario, the simple presence of the two (or more) languages in the same territory is, although necessary, not a sufficient condition. With this premise in hand, we will now proceed to review some of the possible evidence for phenomena of grammatical interference in the available corpus.

3.1   *The Special Case of the Cilician Area*

The previous Chapter (Chapter 4) contained a thorough historical discussion about Cilicia, with important considerations about the problem of the peoples that inhabited during the Iron Age. In this section, instead, we will briefly summarize the related (and still ongoing) discussion about its sociolinguistic situation.

As already pointed out by Yakubovich (2015a, with reference to previous literature), Iron Age Cilicia represents a special case with respect to interference, because the data emerging from the analysis of the complex bilingual materials, such as the KARATEPE and ÇİNEKÖY inscriptions, testify to a problematic sociolinguistic interaction between Phoenician and Luwian, with possible (but frequently overestimated) hints of the presence of a Greek demographic component in the region, even though this emerges only indirectly from the contents of the texts and from some local onomastic data.

The main sources that may be used to examine the sociolinguistic situation of Iron Age Cilicia can be divided into multilingual and monolingual texts. The multilingual texts are the Luwo-Phoenician inscriptions from Karatepe (KARATEPE 1, or simply KARATEPE) and ÇİNEKÖY (the İNCİRLİ trilingual is in such condition that it is impossible to safely compare the different texts).[44] The

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44   KARATEPE 1 is published in CHLI I:45–68, while ÇİNEKÖY is published by Tekoğlu et al. 2000 and included now in CHLI III:108–113. On the İNCİRLİ stele, see Kaufman 2007 and Na'aman 2019.

monolinguals, on the other hand, are the minor Luwian and Phoenician frag-
ments from Karatepe (KARATEPE 2–4; KARATEPE Pho/S.I.),[45] the also fragmen-
tary Phoenician Hasanbeyli boundary stone,[46] and the Phoenician inscription
from Cebelireis Dağı.[47]

The monolingual texts contain no clear evidence of linguistic interference
on the grammatical level. Those written in Luwian are all very short and con-
tain isolated clauses or parts of clauses. The structure of the available phrases
appears to be fully compatible with the grammar of Luwian, and no obvious
calque of a Semitic grammatical structure is apparent. As for the Phoenician
texts, Hasanbeyli is quite short, and its only significant feature is the pres-
ence of the name of King *'WRK* (on which cf. Chapters 3 and 4). Also in this
case, no peculiarities of the grammar of the text indicate influence from a non-
Semitic language. Similar is the case of the historically understudied text from
Cebelireis Dağı, which was probably also a boundary stone: here, most of the
personal names (if not all of them) appear to be Anatolian, but the grammati-
cal structure of the Phoenician language appears to be respected, and even the
most problematic passages do not admit an explanation based on interference.
An attractive—but far from proved—exception may be represented by the use
of the sentence connector *'P* in 3–4:

> *W'P · WL|WY ·YTN · LMTŠ · BWRYKLY · W'P ·* (4) *MTŠ · YTN · LKLŠ · ŠD · Z|BL*
> "He then gave *WLWY* near *WRYKLY* to *MTŠ* and to *KLŠ*. And, again *MTŠ* gave
> to *KLŠ* the field *ZBL*" (Cebelireis Dağı 3–4[48])

It is not inconceivable that this serial use of the connector may have calqued
the sequences of clauses introduced by the semantically similar and formally
almost-matching Luwian adverbial *api*.[49] Yet nothing precludes the construc-
tion in Cebelireis Dağı from being simply a perfectly regular Phoenician con-
struction.

Bilinguals are, on the contrary, more generous in terms of unusual patterns
that may or may not be explained by language interference. In an inspired
article published in 2015, Yakubovich successfully demonstrated that some of
the structures in the Luwian versions of KARATEPE and ÇİNEKÖY are calqued

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45   Editions in CHLI I:68–71; CHLI II:50–81.
46   Edition in Lemaire 1983.
47   Edition Mosca and Russell 1987; see now also Giusfredi 2024, with references.
48   The translation generally follows the edition by Giusfredi 2024. See also the first edition
      in Mosca and Russell 1987.
49   On the function of *api* in Luwian, see Giusfredi 2020c:55; Waal 2021.

from Phoenician, thereby obliterating the former general idea that Luwian represented the original language of the bilingual. The calqued constructions include clauses with non-final predicates as well as replacement of a Phoenician list of gapped noun phrases by a full clause in Luwian.

An example of the former phenomenon is the following, in which, as noted by Melchert (2021), the verbal fronting of the verb *itiwi* "I (shall) delete," in Luwian is not accompanied by the grammatically obligatory presence of an additive or contrastive marker (*-ha* or *-pa*):[50]

> ARHA-*wa/i-ta* ("*69")*i-ti-wa/i*
> (LITUUS)*a-za-ti-wa/i-ta-sa a-la/i-ma-za* PORTA-*la-na-ri+i zi-na*
> "I shall delete Azatiwada's name from this gate." (KARATEPE 1 Hu. § 63)

In spite of some differences in the organization of the text discourse-wise which reflect in the mismatch of verbal persons, the position of the verbal head is obviously the same as in the Phoenician version, which follows an unproblematic West Semitic clause architecture (cf. the translation in Krahmalkov 2000:41):

> YMḤ ŠM ʾZTWD BŠʿR Z
> "he shall delete Azatiwada's name from this gate."[51] (KARATEPE 1 Pho § 63)

As regards gapping vs. full clause repetition, as Melchert showed, these do not truly represent interference or *translationese*, because Luwian simply had no other way to express the required semantics. We may add that what would have represented interference would have been the very opposite case: if the Luwian text contained listed noun phrases in a barely grammatical fashion, this would have demonstrated Phoenician interference, just like the agrammatical fronting in the example above implied calquing a Semitic syntax. Nonetheless, for sake of completeness, we include an example of this phenomenon, too:

> *wa/i-ta* (EQUUS.ANIMAL)*zú-na* (EQUUS)*zú-wa/i* |SUPER+*ra/i-ta* |*i-zi-ia-ha*
> EXER[CITUS.*LA/I/U-za-pa-wa-/i-ta*] EXERCITUS[.*LA/I/U-ni*] |SUPER+*ra/i-ta* |*i-z[i]-ia-h[a]*
> "I made horse upon horse, I made army upon army." (ÇİNEKÖY § 3–4)

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50   Melchert 2021:362.
51   CHLI I:57.

vs. Phoenician:

> *WP'L 'NK SS 'L SS WMḤNT 'L MḤNT*
> "I made horse upon horse and army upon army." (ÇİNEKÖY Pho 6–7[52])

The other traces of a translation process that Yakubovich proposes are lexical and do not involve proper interference, especially at the grammatical level, so any discussion of them would be outside the scope of the present discussion. Melchert (2021), however, added some other examples that indicate Phoenician-like features in the Luwian text, as well as a number of examples of the opposite process, with Phoenician apparently depending on Luwian.

An important addition to the instances of Semitic structures borrowed in Luwian is the use of *kwadi* as a final subordinator, as pointed out by Melchert (2021:364). Final clauses in Anatolian are not subordinates; they are built using the infinitive or with simple coordination. Therefore, the use of a causal subordinator in KARATEPE:

> *á-*429-wa/i-sa-wa/i*(URBS) || | *kwa/i-ti* | (BONUS)*wa/i+ra/i-ia-ma-la* | SO-LIUM.*MI-i*
> "… so that Adanawa might dwell in peace."[53] (KARATEPE 1 Hu. § 24)

must be a grammatical calque of the Phoenician version:

> *LŠBTNM DNNYM LNḤT LBNM*
> "so that the *DNNM* might dwell in peace of their heart."[54] (KARATEPE 1 Phu/A i 17–18)

Melchert (2021), however, did not limit himself to further investigating the cases in which the Phoenician text appears to be primary. Rather, he highlighted cases in which the Semitic structures do not match the Luwian ones, which, in turn, cannot be considered to be translations. Although most of the cases in question are in fact simple mismatches, a couple of them feature structures that appear to be calques of Luwian. One of them is the use of *l* as a reflexive pronoun, likely calquing a Luwian reflexive construction (Melchert 2021:366–367; Pardee 1987). This use is attested in KARATEPE 1:

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52   Tekoğlu et al. 2000:968.

53   CHLI I:51.

54   CHLI I:51; Melchert 2021:364.

> *WYPʿL L ŠʿʿR ZR*
> "and he will build for himself another gate." (KARATEPE 1 Phu/A iii 16)

The Luwian version, quite interestingly, does not contain a reflexive personal pronoun, but rather a construction with the adjective *waralla/i-* 'own' (Melchert 2021:367):

> *wa/i+ra/i-la-ia-wa/i* "PORTA"-*la-na i-zi-i-wa/i*
> "and I will make my own gate."[55] (KARATEPE 1 Hu. § 69)

This implies that, if the Phoenician scribes employed a construction calqued from Luwian, they did so not because of a mechanical translation process, but rather because the form was truly part of the grammar of Cilician Phoenician. It would, therefore, be a rare case of true contact-induced grammatical change.

The other case of Luwian influence on a Phoenician form is less compelling. It deals of the use of the prepositional phrase BRBM with the meaning 'plentifully,' to translate the Luwian adverbial *man*, 'much,' in KARATEPE §§ 56–58 // Phu/A 9–11. Although it is true that the Phoenician phrase is rare, whereas the use of the Luwian adverbial is very common and perfectly grammatical, another occurrence of BRBM exists in late Punic, with the meaning 'many times, often' (KAI 68:5; Krahmalkov 2000:125). Assuming that semantic calquing is at work implies considering the meaning 'many times' to be primary with respect to 'much, plentifully,' but there are no compelling reasons to do so. Therefore, in this case we can support Melchert's claim that the Luwian version is not derived from Phoenician, and can even entertain the possibility that Phoenician struggled to render a Luwian expression, but there is no compelling evidence that the use of BRBM attested in KARATEPE is an *ad hoc* formation influenced by a Luwian adverbial.

In general, it is very difficult to say a final word about the problem of the *original version* of the Cilician bilinguals. Certainly, Yakubovich (2015a) made a worthy contribution by identifying several instances that disprove the outdated idea that the Luwian text was primary and that the Phoenician text was derived from it. Melchert's analyses (2021), on the other hand, showed that the Luwian text is, in several cases, underived or even primary, and that the Phoenician one occasionally appears to follow it. A yet to be published reply to Melchert's observations is contained in Yakubovich (forthcoming),

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55   CHLI I:57.

which, along with offering a new discussion of some lexical borrowings and
calques, also challenges the two cases of grammatical interference mentioned
above.

In general, regarding the sociolinguistic situation of Iron Age Cilicia, some
conclusions can be drawn based on the evidence presented above. First of all,
based on the available documents, the languages of the region appear to be
Luwian and Phoenician (even though some features of their status and mutual
relationships are still open to debate). Whether a Greek elite were already
present in the area during the 7th century, on the other hand, remains an open
question, as no conclusive pieces of evidence exist to support the claim (see
Chapters 3 and 4 of the present volume for historical discussion).

3.2   *Luwian as the Model Language*

Outside the problematic area of Cilicia, the one case in which Luwian appears
to have *influenced* a Semitic language in northern Syria is represented by the
Sam'alian dialect of Aramaic. In Giusfredi and Pisaniello (2021), we argued that
some peculiarities of the Sam'alian dialect were, indeed, attributable to the
preservation of archaic features due to the feedback and influence of Ana-
tolian. The first would be the lack of development of the so-called "Aramaic
article," another name for the peculiar emphatic state of the noun, which is
employed to mark definiteness. The suffix -', present in Old Aramaic with a func-
tion similar to the Canaanite and Phoenician article *H*, was never used in the
inscriptions from Yadiya/Sam'al until the late King Bar-Rākib abandoned the
local dialect to use a standard version of Aramaic. Because both Old Aramaic
and Phoenician, the two Semitic languages of the area, had a strategy to mark
the definiteness of a noun (phrase), Luwian is the only language in the area
that patterns with Sam'alian in lacking a morphologically overt way to do the
same.

The other peculiarity of Sam'alian is the retention of the nominal inflection,
lost in all other Northwest Semitic languages. This too, being absent in Phoeni-
cian and in Old Aramaic, is a feature that Sam'alian areally shares only with
Luwian.

Due to the limits of the available corpus, this is destined to remain a hy-
pothesis—albeit one that is linguistically sound and well-founded from the
chronological and areal perspectives. The use of Luwian personal names by the
rulers of Yadiya *KLMW* (Kulamuwa) and *PNMW* (Panamuwa or Punamuwa) I
and II, as well as the presence of Luwian lexical and cultural elements in the
inscription of the official *KTMW* (see above), who also bears a Luwian name,
combined with the historical presence of Luwians in the northern areas of
transeuphratic Syria ever since the Final Bronze Age, testify to the language

having been endemic to the region for a time long enough to have triggered an interaction with the earliest phases of development of the local variety of Aramaic.[56]

3.3 *Luwian as the Target Language*

Because Iron Age Luwian was a very compact and geographically consistent code employed mostly for official purposes and royal inscriptions, there are very few cases in which unusual patterns emerge that might be explainable in terms of grammatical interference.

3.3.1 Masuwari: The elusive Arslan Taş trilingual(s)

In general, in spite of the high likelihood of a mixed population and culture, the Luwian inscriptions[57] from the Luwian-Aramaean kingdom of Masuwari/ Til Barsip show no significant traces of interference. Information regarding the mixed culture and population of the city and region are historical and contextual (see Chapter 4), while the Luwian of the hieroglyphic texts contains no unusual patterns that would hint at grammatical interference from Aramaic.

A single case that may warrant attention is the last preserved sentence of the Luwian version of the Arslan Taş trilingual inscription on one of the gate lions, published by Hawkins (CHLI I:246–248). The Arslan Taş texts appear to be generally dictated by the Assyrian local governor Ninurta-bēlu-uṣur, so the *terminus post quem* is the mid-8th century BCE.[58] If, as Hawkins persuasively suggests, the reference to the foundation of the city of Hadattu in the Luwian text (§ 2) is parallel to a similar passage in the cuneiform Akkadian version, the Arslan Taş Luwian text would be the only known case of Luwian inscription certain to have been dictated by an Assyrian official. In any case, because the *terminus post quem* is certain (because the toponym *Hadattu* is unquestionably present in the Luwian text as well), the context of production of the text was most likely that of a former Luwian-Aramaic polity to which an Assyrian political and linguistic superstrate was added.

Bearing this in mind, one may now turn to the Luwian inscription. Although it is only fragmentarily preserved, it contains few unclear passages, with the exception of the last readable line:

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56 On Luwo-Aramaic presence in Yadiya, see Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021b; Osborne 2021: 44-47, both with references to previous scholarship. Although the views on the reasons for the choice of specific languages and scripts in the monumental texts may diverge in different scholarly works, the coexistence of Aramaic and Luwian elements appears unquestionable in the area under discussion.

57 CHLI I:224–248; Hawkins *apud* Bunnens 2006:11–32.

58 There are no absolute dates for the activity of Ninurta-bēlu-uṣur as a governor, but he certainly acted during the reign of Tiglathpileser III.

wa/i-' a-wá/í "4"-*wa/i-zi* ("ʙᴏꜱ")*wa/i-wa/i-ti-i-ha* "x"(-)*sa-mi-zi* *286-*na*

First of all, the meaning is obscure, and no parallel passages from the other Aramaic or Akkadian texts can help shed any light. If the second word, *a-wá/í*, is indeed a first person singular of the verb 'to make,' its position would be clause-initial instead of clause-final. Furthermore, the numeral '4' is, as expected in the morphosyntax of Luwian,[59] inflected in plural, but the case is mistaken, as *wawa/i-*, 'oxen,' undoubtably its head noun, is inflected in ablative/instrumental, whereas "4"-*wa/i-zi* is either a nominative or an accusative.

Although the context and meaning remain elusive, the verb *a-*, 'to make,' does occur with instrumental in sacrificial contexts (ʜɪꜱᴀʀᴄɪᴋ §2), with the beneficiary of the sacrifice in accusative (a role that could be assigned to either of the final two unknown words "I will honor the X with four oxen." However, if this interpretation is correct, three problems remain. Two of them have already been mentioned: the position of the verb (which is clause-initial) and the mistake in the agreement of the numeral. The third is the absence of the dative-reflexive pronoun *-mu*, which is expected to occur in this idiomatic construction with the verb *a-* (reminiscent of Hittite *-za iya-*).

Can these agrammatical patterns be explained in terms of contact? As a matter of fact, it is possible. A clause-initial verb and the agreement mistake may be due to Aramaic interference, as Old Aramaic is mostly verb-initial and has lost nominal inflection (neither condition applies to Akkadian). The missing pronoun, on the other hand, may merely reflect imperfect competence of Luwian by a non-native or bilingual scribe.

3.3.2   The building inscriptions ʜᴀᴍᴀ 1–3, 6 and 7

A case of unusual clause structure appears to emerge in the Hama inscriptions by King Uratammi, in which a rather formulaic sentence occurs in the texts ʜᴀᴍᴀ 1 (restored), 2, 3, 6 and 7.[60] The formula is as follows:

> *a-wa/i* || *á-mu* ᴀᴇᴅɪꜰɪᴄᴀʀᴇ+*ᴍɪ-ha za-'* ("ᴄᴀꜱᴛʀᴜᴍ")*ha+ra/i-ni-sà-za*
> "and I built this fortress." (ʜᴀᴍᴀ 3 §2)

The clause features an ꜱᴠᴏ order of the sentence constituents, with ᴀᴇᴅɪꜰɪᴄᴀ-ʀᴇ+*ᴍɪ-* being the clause-medial predcate, as opposed to the expected order for Luwian, which would be ꜱᴏᴠ. Even if one wanted to consider this construction

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59   Bauer 2015:71–83.
60   Text in ᴄʜʟɪ I:413.

an emphatic one, with the subject *amu* in topical or focal position, the position of the verb would be highly unusual.[61]

The pattern is unparalleled in the other texts from the area. The last blocks of sentences in the longer text HAMA 4, by Uratammis's father Urahilana, are admittedly obscure and do feature some non-final verbs; however, these verbs are not followed by direct objects but rather by adverbial elements, so the structure may be more genuinely seen as grammatical in Luwian.

The unusual clauses in Uratammis's building formulae are, thus, quite isolated, and one may wish to investigate whether they in fact reflect a specific sociolinguistic scenario. Even at a glance, the idea of contact-induced patterns is certainly alluring. The central Syrian area would appear, indeed, as an obvious candidate for interference between the Luwian and Northwest Semitic components. A situation of alleged coexistence of Luwian and Semitic, however, cannot be conclusively invoked to immediately explain the unusual structures in the Hama building texts as induced by contact. Indeed, their unusual pattern may be derived by interference with Old Aramaic, but only if one considers the presence, in this language, of the order SVO, which is a minority order compared to the prevalent and unmarked VSO.[62] On the other hand, assuming that Luwian was not the native language of the scribe or scribes who composed the short texts may explain the production of unusual structures merely as a consequence of non-native competence in the language, especially if one considers that the context of the quoted clauses is that of a relative clause:

> *a-wa/i* ‖ *á-mu* AEDIFICARE+*MI-ha za-'* ("CASTRUM")*ha+ra/i-ni-sà-za* ("*218")*ku-su-na-la-zi*(REGIO) *kwa/i-za i-zi-ia-ta*
> "and I built this fortress, which the inhabitants of Kusunalla (physically) made." (HAMA 3 §§ 2–3)

For a speaker of a non-Anatolian language, the almost correlative structure of the Luwian relative clauses would have appeared artificial and difficult to process, and the irregular SVO order of the main clause could be driven by an attempt to dislocate the direct object closer to the relative clause it refers to.

To defend this hypothesis, it is necessary to check whether the data we possess about the linguistic demography of Hama is potentially consistent with

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61   Cf. for instance ÇİNEKÖY § 9 for a subject pronoun *amu* in topical position, with no alteration of the position of the verb. On marked informational structures, see in general Giusfredi 2020c.

62   Fales and Grassi 2016:59.

the idea that Luwian was an official language used for display texts in a predominantly Semitic environment. The Hieroglyphic Luwian material provides few additional pieces of information apart from the presence of the Phoenician divine name *Ba'lat*, (DEUS)*pa-ha-la-ti-*, which maintains the Semitic feminine but is treated as an *i*-themed substantive (a very plain path of morphological integration).

As for the Old Aramaic documents, the short ones from Hama, already discovered during excavations in the first half of the 20th century CE,[63] do not contain clear indications of a multilingual environment, and because they deal with bullae or weights, they are more likely to reflect the real-life situation compared to a royal inscription by a ruler who bears a Luwian name. The personal names in these texts are generally Aramaic or else problematic, with only one that might be Anatolian. Indeed, the Hieroglyphic Luwian bulla HAMA 7 contains the name of a scribe that is probably spelled *a-la-ni* (although the signs are quite ruined). This name may be the same as in the Aramaic bulla HAMA 8, *'L'N*, and, contrary to Hawkins's claim (CHLI I:422), nothing indicates that the name was necessarily Aramaic.

Thus, the situation in Hama can be described as follows: apart from the names of the two kings, Urahilana and Uratammi (and possibly the name of a scribe), the absolute majority of the evidence would point to a predominantly Semitic population, which is also consistent with the geographical collocation of the site and with the divine names that appear even in the official Luwian inscriptions (the West Semitic *Ba'lat* and the Anatolian Storm God). Cases are known in which dynasts bearing Luwian names ruled in cities that were mostly Aramaean. The case of Sam'al immediately comes to mind, but the Luwian minority was, in that instance, probably large enough to compete with the Aramaic one, as attested by the contents of the Kulamuwa inscription (cf. Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021b). So too does the case of Masuwari, if the names of the rulers of the Hamiyata dynasty are indeed to be interpreted as Semitic. However, the combination of different cultural elements appears to yield different results in each of these areas: in Sam'al, Aramaean rulers bear Luwian names and write in (Sam'alian) Aramaic (and, in one case, Phoenician); in Masuwari, Semitic rulers with likely Semitic names write in Luwian; and in Hama, rulers with Luwian names write their display inscriptions in Luwian, while many shorter inscriptions in Aramaic are attested.

Politically, Hama in the 9th century appears to orbitate in the Damascus area, to which several connections are attested in the narrative sources. Data

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63   Otzen 1990.

regarding the previous phases of the Hamatean history are not available: as argued by Giusfredi (2018), the hypothesis that the 11th–10th century kingdom of Palastin included the Hama region are based on two inscriptions, MEHARDE and SHEIZAR, which were found out of context and are unlikely to have been composed there.

All in all, apart from the choice of Luwian as an official language, no evidence indicates that the penetration of the Luwian cultural, linguistic and political element in Hama was a stable one in the *longue durée*, and whatever the role of the northern Orontes valley, the dynasty of Urahilana and Uratammi should in all likelihood be interpreted as a relic of a Luwian cultural and linguistic penetration dating back to the Final Bronze Age and to the Dark Age. This scenario appears consistent with a situation in which scribes with imperfect competence in Luwian produced the unusual patterns attested in the Hama building inscriptions—which do not, however, properly qualify as cases of grammatical *interference*.

4   Onomastics

4.1   *Luwian names in Foreign Sources*

As mentioned, most Luwian lexical items occurring in non-Luwian sources are proper names, whether personal names, theonyms, or toponyms. Some of them can be found in texts dating to the time when Iron Age Luwian was directly attested by inscriptions (up to the 7th century BCE), while some other are found in later sources when contemporary Luwian inscriptions were, as far as we know, absent. Of course, as far as names attested later are concerned, the label *Luwian* need not be understood in the strict sense of the term: such names could actually be Luwian, possibly surviving as relics, which does not imply that Luwian was still alive at that time—but they could also reflect different linguistic varieties, not attested by direct sources, derived from, or parallel and strictly connected to, the Luwian language directly attested (if not actually spoken) in former times in the areas involved. This clearly changes the linguistic analysis of these names, because any divergences from their attested or reconstructed Luwian models can be simply explained, in the former case, in terms of adaptation in different linguistic and writing systems, with the possibility of alteration in transmission over time, whereas, in the latter, one should perhaps primarily take into account change and variation, besides adaptation strategies.

Some Luwian personal names are attested in the inscriptions from Zincirli, referring both to the kings of the reign of Sam'al/Yadiya (*KLMW*, *PNMW*, and

perhaps also *QRL*) and to officials (*KTMW*). Although *KLMW* should be proba-
bly explained as Kulamuwa, based on a plausible connection with the Luwian
noun *kwalan-* 'army' and on the Greek rendering Κολαμοα in an inscription
from Delphi, the vocalization of the other names is quite problematic because
Luwian data are missing or inconsistent. *PNMW* may reflect either Panamuwa
or Punamuwa because, on the one hand, Assyrian sources provide us with ᵐ*pa-
na-am-mu*(*-u/ú*) and the Luwian personal name *Panamuwatti* is attested in the
inscription BOYBEYPINARI 1 and 2; on the other hand, *Punamuwe* is attested in
Lycian, also adapted as Ποναμοα in a Greek inscription from Limyra, *punm*[-]*ś*
is found in Carian, and Luwian *punad*(*a/i*)- 'all' may be a good Luwian base.
QRL may perhaps reflect the Luwian personal name *ha+ra/i-li-sa* attested in
CEKKE (Har(r)alli or Harli), while *KTMW* has been explained as Kuttamuwa,
Kat(t)umuwa, or Katimuwa, albeit without compelling arguments.[64]

Many Luwian personal names in non-Luwian sources come from Cilicia
and can be found in Phoenician, Aramaic, and Greek inscriptions. Besides a
few names occurring in multilingual documents including a Luwian text (e.g.,
'ZTWD = Azatiwada in the Phoenician version of KARATEPE inscription), which
also provides us with the right vocalization, most of them are attested in mono-
lingual inscriptions, and their analysis is not always straightforward.

The Phoenician inscription of Cebelireis Dağı, presumably dated to the sec-
ond half of the 7th century BCE,[65] includes Anatolian (sometimes specifically
Luwian) names such as *'šLPRN*, (perhaps Assulaparna),[66] *MSN*(*'*)*ZMŠ* (= Mas-
sanazammi, cf. ᴵDEUS-*na*-(OCULUS)*á-za-mi-sá*- in KARATEPE 4 §2), *MTŠ* (cf.
perhaps Mita or Mutta; see Laroche 1966a:119, 122), *NNMTŠ* (cf. perhaps ᴵ*na-ni-
mu-ta*- in KULULU lead strip 1), *'zwŠŠ* (containing the *aza*- element), *PHL*(*'*)*Š* (=
Pihali?), and *KLŠ* (cf. perhaps Κιλλις in Greek sources, cf. Chapter 4).[67]

Some Imperial Aramaic inscriptions from Cilicia dated to the Achaemenid
period also feature Luwian personal names. The Saraïdin inscription, dated to
the 6th–5th centuries BCE, includes the names *wŠwNŠ* (= Wasuwani), *'PwŠY*
(cf. the Cilician prince Appuašu in the Babylonian Chronicles,[68] perhaps

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64 On Luwian names of Sam'alian kings, cf. Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021b with references.
    On the name *KTMW*, see Younger 2009a.

65 Cf. Lipiński 2004:128–130; Röllig 2008; Giusfredi 2024.

66 One may compare the PN Ašula in Old Assyrian tablets from Kültepe (cf. Laroche 1966a:47)
    and the PN *'šWLKRTY* in Saraïdin Aramaic inscription (although *'šw* and *LKRTY* should
    perhaps be divided). According to Lipiński (2004:129–130), it may be a compound name
    including Phoen. *'š* 'man' and Anat. *LPRN* 'Labarna' (= 'King's man').

67 On the possibility that names ending in -*š* should be interpreted as Luwian nominative
    singular names in /-is/, see Chapter 4.

68 Wiseman 1956.

matching the second-millennium personal name Happuwaššu),[69] and possibly *ʾŠWLKRTY* (cf. *ʾŠLPRN* in Cebelireis Dağı inscription). *SRMPY* (= Sarmapiya) is attested in the 4th century Hemite and Yukarı Bozkuyu inscriptions, the latter also including the personal name *TYLWD/RMW*, seemingly a Luwian name ending in *-muwa*, while the 4th century Kesecek Köyü inscription features the unclear personal names *NNŠT* and *ʾD/RM/RSW/PK/N/R* (perhaps Arma ...?).

A number of Luwian personal names are also found in Greek inscriptions from Cilicia, which stretch chronologically far beyond the period during which Luwian texts are attested. Some of them are clearly recognizable as theophoric names, including Luwian theonyms such as Tarhunta or Sanda (cf. Σανδά-τιος, Σανδαζαμις, Τροκομβίγρεμις/Ταρκυμβίγρεμις, Τροκονβιας, Τροκοναζας, etc.), or Hurrian theonyms like Šarruma, well integrated in the Luwian world (cf. Ἰαζάρμας, Ῥωζάρμα, Τροκοζάρμας, etc.), unless the element -ζάρμα in these names should be explained as reflecting Luwian *zalma-* 'protection.'[70] Others include well-known Luwian nouns frequently occurring in onomastics, such as μοα- = *muwa-* 'strength' (Κουαριμόας,[71] Οὐαξαμόας, Πορδαμοας, etc.).

Luwian personal names also occur in Akkadian sources, for example, the name of the Sam'alian king ^m*pa-na-am-mu*(-*u/ú*) in Assyrian annals or the name of the Cilician prince Appuašu found in the Babylonian Chronicles.[72] Furthermore, it has been suggested that the Urartian king name Rusa (unexpected in Urartian because of the phonologically impossible initial /r-/) may be the adaptation of the Luwian name Runza.[73]

Luwian divine names are generally not found in non-Luwian sources outside theophoric personal names (except for Kubaba—which is not originally Luwian—and Sanda[74]), but calques are attested instead. Thus, in the Phoenician version of the KARATEPE inscription, the Storm God Tarhunta is consistently matched by Baʿal (sometimes with the epithet *KRNTRYŠ*, for which different explanations have been suggested)[75] and the Stag God Runtiya by *RŠP*

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69   Cf. Laroche 1966a:60.

70   See Adiego 2019. However, Simon (2020a) is skeptical about both Šarruma and *zalma-*.

71   Cf. ¹*kwa/i+ra/i-mu-wa/i-* in KULULU lead strip 1.

72   For a list of Luwian names in Assyrian sources, see Simon 2018c:127–129.

73   See Bonfanti 2022:135–136, with references.

74   See Rutherford 2017.

75   Phu/A ii 19, iii 2–3, 4; Pho/B ii 6; PhSt/C iii 16, 17, 19, iv 20 (see the edition in CHLI II). Against the often accepted hypothesis by Schmitz (2009), who suggested that it reflected a Greek epithet to be reconstructed as *κορυνητήριος 'mace-bearing,' see, among others, the alternative suggestions by Matessi (Chapter 10), who, based on previous references, explained it as reflecting the toponym Kelenderis, and Melchert (Chapter 4), who instead

ṢPRM 'Rešep of the goats.'[76] Similarly, in the KTMW stele from Zincirli, the list of
deities receiving offerings clearly reflects a Luwian local pantheon (rather than
the official one of the Sam'alian kings), but Luwian deities occur in their Semitic
guises: HDD QR/DPD/RL 'Hadad/Tarhunta the ally' (if QR/DPD/RL reflects Luw.
*harpatalli-, see above), ŠMŠ 'Šamaš/Tiwad,' HDD KRMN 'Hadad/Tarhunta of
the vineyards' (a calque on Luw. tuwarsassi- Tarhunta-, occurring in SULTAN-
HAN and BOR inscriptions), KBBW 'Kubaba' (seemingly Kubābu, with Assyr-
ian vocalization), and the puzzling NGD/R ṢWD/RN, which could be explained
either as NGR ṢWDN 'Nikaruhas/Nikarawas of the hunters' (Masson 2010:53) or
as NGD ṢWDN 'official of the hunts,' i.e., Runtiya (Fales and Grassi 2016:208).[77]

As for place names, their linguistic belonging is often difficult to grasp, so the
identification of toponyms of Luwian origin in non-Luwian sources is a compli-
cated task. Assured cases are 'ZTWDY = Azatiwadaya, occurring in the Phoeni-
cian version of the KARATEPE bilingual (§§ 39, 46), and WRYKY = Warikiya,[78]
found in the Phoenician inscription of Cebelireis Dağı (l. 3). Both are Luwian
adjectival formations in -ya- derived from personal names, but while Azati-
wada is an assured Luwian personal name, the ultimate origin of Awariku /
Warika is unclear (see § 4.2).

Some other place names are attested in the inscription of Cebelireis Dağı,
but their origin is unknown: YLBŠ (l. 1; perhaps matching Gr. Βολβόσος on the
Pamphylian border, as suggested by Lipiński 2004:129); TMRS (l. 1);[79] KR (l. 2;
Kurra?);[80] 'DRWZ (l. 2; perhaps Adrassos).[81] Conversely, KW (l. 3) may corre-
spond to the Assyrian Qawe/Que (Babylonian Hume), from Luwian Hiyawa,
which is generally regarded as derived from Ahhiyawa through aphaeresis (usu-
ally assumed to match the Greek *Ἀχαιϝοί).[82] However, the same toponym
occurs as QWH in the Aramaic inscription of Zakkur (A:6),[83] showing a different

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suggested that it was the Phoenician rendering of a Luwian epithet, *harna-tarrawiyassis
'of establishing the fortified city.'

76   See also Frühwirt 2021:221–222.

77   On the divine list of the KTMW stele, see Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021b.

78   Previously read WRYKLY = Warikliya, but see Bordreuil 2010:227 fn. 3.

79   On this (alleged) toponym, see the discussion in Giusfredi 2024:34.

80   See Bordreuil 2019:76.

81   But see Kottsieper 2001:185. Because of the presence of ⟨w⟩, Giusfredi (2024:34) suggests
      identifying this toponym with *Aturassa (with metathesis in the Phoenician rendering), a
      locality whose existence might be assumed based on the occurrence of a mountain named
      Aturassaliya in MARAŞ 4 (§ 5).

82   See Oreshko 2018a:23–25, with references. Against the derivation of Hiyawa from Ahhiya-
      wa, see Gander 2010:48–56. On the possibility that Ahhiyawa corresponded to the island
      of Chios rather than the Greek Ἀχαιοί, see Egetmeyer 2022.

83   See Fales and Grassi 2016:127.

phonological adaptation. Therefore, it has been suggested by Simon (2011:260–261) that the toponym *KW* occurring in Cebelireis Dağı rather reflected a different Luwian place name, *Kawa*, possibly denoting a city in the region of Hiyawa.[84]

Similarly, the Phoenician city name *P'R*, found in KARATEPE 1 §7, matching *pa-há+ra/i-°* in the Luwian version (and probably corresponding to NAss. *Pahri*),[85] is of unclear origin.

A rather complex issue concerns the toponym *Adana* and allegedly related forms. KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*Adaniya* is found in Hittite sources of the 15th–14th centuries BCE related to Kizzuwatna, which, however, cannot grant the linguistically Anatolian origin of the city name.[86] In the bilingual inscription of KARATEPE, one finds *á-ta-na-* and *á-*429-wa/i-*, the latter traditionally read as *á-TANA-wa/i-* = Adanawa; this has been challenged by Oreshko (2013; 2015; 2018a), who suggested the reading *á-HIYA-wa/i-* = Ahhiyawa, thereby eliminating the problematic form *Adanawa*. However, his hypothesis has not been unanimously accepted.[87] In the Phoenician version of KARATEPE, Adana is regularly matched by *'DN*, but the ethnic *DNNY(M)* also occurs (as well as in the Phoenician inscription of Kulamuwa), which is often related to the Danuna mentioned in the Amarna letter EA 151 and in KBo 28.25, the Egyptian *dꝫ-jnjw(-nꝫ)*, the Greek Δαναοί, and others, although there is no consensus among scholars as to which terms should be included in or excluded from the series.[88] Whether Adan(iy)a and Danuna had the same base is also debated: some scholars believe that the two names cannot be traced back to the same root,[89] whereas others defend an etymological connection.[90]

4.2   *Foreign names in Luwian sources*

In Luwian inscriptions of the Iron Age, several proper names can be found whose origin is likely foreign, although their exact linguistic belonging cannot always be positively identified.[91]

As far as foreign personal names are concerned, they are represented mainly by Semitic and Hurrian names. Semitic names should mostly reflect contacts

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84   See also Giusfredi 2024:34–35.

85   See Hawkins 2006–2008:191.

86   The name is also found in Ugaritic (*'DNY*) and Greek (Ἄδανα).

87   The hypothesis was rejected by Hawkins (2015b:54, 2016) among others, but positively received by Yakubovich (2015b). See also Chapter 4.

88   See Oreshko 2018a for an overview on the issue.

89   See, e.g., Jasink 1988:94–97 and Oreshko 2018a.

90   See, e.g., Laroche 1958:263–275 and Hawkins 2015b:55.

91   For a broader discussion on foreign names in Hieroglyphic Luwian, see Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2022, with references.

with Semitic populations in the different areas where Luwian was widespread, whereas Hurrian names are probably better explained as inheritance from the traditional "Hittite" onomastics that can be traced back to the second millennium BCE, where the Hurrian element was strongly represented.

Possible Semitic names include: *a-mu-* (CEKKE §17), perhaps reflecting the kinship term *Hˤ'ammu-* 'uncle,' frequently occurring in the Amorite onomastics;[92] *ara/i-pa-* (ALEPPO 2 §§1, 25), possibly matching *Araba'u* (cf. ABL 273 rev. 2, ABL 1244 rev. 7, etc.), although a Luwian explanation cannot be entirely excluded;[93] *ha-mi-ya-ta* (TELL AHMAR 1, 2, 5, etc.), either from *ˤ'ammi-Addu*, 'Adad is the paternal uncle' (Giusfredi 2012:162, with references), or *ˤ'ammi-yaṯa*', 'the paternal uncle saved' (Younger 2016:142);[94] *ha-pi+ra/i-* (KULULU lead strip 1, §3), if reflecting *habiru*, a term referring to nomadic people, mostly in the Syrian area;[95] *ka-mara/i-* (CEKKE §17), to be probably explained as *kamari(ya)-* 'of the camels > camel rider' (Giusfredi 2020a; see also above for the name of the 'camel' as a loanword in Iron Age Luwian), which may be further supported by the occurrence of the personal name ᵐ*Kammaliya* in the Hittite inventory texts KBo 16.83+ ii 8′ (CTH 242.8, NS) and KUB 42.11 vi 4′ (CTH 241.7.A, NS); *ni$_x$-nu-wa/i-ya-* (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §2), plausibly corresponding to the Assyrian *Ninuāyu* (cf. Giusfredi 2020b); *pa+ra/i-ki-pa-*, the name of the Sam'alian king Bar-Rākib, attested only on a gold signet ring from Zincirli.

Assured Hurrian personal names are not numerous. Four theophoric names containing the Hurrian name of the Storm God Teššub (written as *-ti-sa-pa-*, probably reflecting /tispa/ or /-tis(s)apa/; see below) are attested in the inscription KARKAMIŠ A7 (9th–8th centuries BCE), identifying the figures sculpted on the orthostats: *ma-li-i-*TONITRUS-*pa-* (§7), *tara/i-ní-ti-sa-pa-* (§9), *i-si-ka+ra/i-ti-sa-pa-* (§10), and *ia-hi-la-ti-sa-pa-* (§13). The first members of these compound names are not fully clear, but Hurrian origin is plausible: although *ma-li-i-* remains unparalleled, the element *i-si-ka+ra/i-* in *i-si-ka+ra/i-ti-sa-pa-* may be perhaps compared with the Hurrian *eš-kar-ri* (KUB 27.38 iv 9), *iš-ga-ri* (KUB 32.52 iii 14′), meaning unknown; for *tara/i-ní-ti-sa-pa-* we may recall either the Hurrian *tari* 'fire' (cf. *tarinni*, meaning unknown) or the alleged root *tarn-*, although its existence is quite uncertain; finally, *ia-hi-la-ti-sa-pa-* could be a variant of the common Hurrian name Ehli-Teššub/Ehel-Teššub, if we admit

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92   A Luwian explanation, which would imply a connection with the first singular personal pronoun, seems unlikely.

93   Cf. perhaps Luw. *arpa-* 'unlucky (*vel sim.*)' and the personal names Αρβησσις, and Αρβασις in Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor; see KPN 88.

94   The name *ha-mi-ya* in KULULU lead fragment 1 may be a hypocoristic variant of this name.

95   See also the name Hapiri occurring in HKM 48 obv. 3, 5.

a secondary breaking /e/ > /ja/.[96] A fifth name on the same inscription, *si-ka-ra+a-* (§ 11), may perhaps be connected to the Hurrian root *šeg=ar-* (meaning unknown), occurring in the personal name Šegar-Teššub.

Also possibly Hurrian are the names *ara/i-ya-hi-na-* and *ha-pa-ti-la*, both occurring in TELL AHMAR 1.[97] The latter may be related to the Hurrian divine name Hebat and can be explained as a Luwian derivative name Habadili or a purely Hurrian name Hebat-tilla, although one cannot exclude the possibility that it instead represented a Semitic name *'Abd-Ila* 'servant of El/god.'[98] Ariyahina may contain the well-attested Hurrian element *ari-*, although the general analysis of the name remains obscure, and a Semitic interpretation is also available.[99]

Other likely non-Anatolian names are attested in the Iron Age hieroglyphic corpus, but their origin and analysis are unclear. Consider, e.g., *á-wa/i+ra/i-ku-* and *wa/i+ra/i-i-ka-*, attested in Cilicia, for which either Greek (= Εὔαρχος and Ῥοῖκός/Ῥάκιος), Hurrian, and Luwian origins have been invoked;[100] *mu-ka-sa*, again from Cilicia, corresponding to Mopsus in Greek sources (cf. Phoen. ᴍᴘš in the bilingual inscription from KARATEPE),[101] which is connected to the Phrygian world; *ku+ra/i-ti-*, possibly Phrygian and connected to Gordion;[102] *si-pi-sa*, perhaps also Phrygian;[103] *ta-i-ta-*, a king of Palastin, unconvincingly explained either as Hurrian (*tahhe=ta* < *tahhe* 'man') or Indo-European and related to David.[104]

Some foreign divine names—Mesopotamian, West Semitic, and Hurrian— are also attested in Iron Age Luwian inscriptions. The Hurrian Sun Goddess Hebat occurs as *hi-pu-ta-* (ANCOZ 1, ANCOZ 9, ÇİFTLİK, KULULU 5, TELL AHMAR 6), with metathesis of vowels in the two final syllables, vs. *ha-pa-tu* at YAZILIKAYA and *°-ha-pa* in personal names from the second millennium (see also PN *ha-pa-ti-la* mentioned above). However, the variant with ⟨hi⟩, *hi-pa-tú-*, is already attested in the late second millennium inscriptions of GÜRÜN (probably late 12th century) and DARENDE (perhaps 11th–10th century). The

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96   See the discussion on ("*474")*sa-ri+i-ia-si-* above.
97   See Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2022:196–197 with references.
98   See Hawkins *apud* Bunnens 2006:87.
99   Hawkins *apud* Bunnens 2006:87.
100 See, e.g., Goetze 1962:53; Forlanini 1996; Jasink and Marino 2007:407–409; Simon 2014a; Simon 2017b.
101 This identification has been rejected by Simon (2021b:185–186).
102 Cf. Simon 2017c.
103 Cf. Simon 2022a, also including a critical discussion of other alleged Phrygian names in Luwian.
104 On these and other uncertain names, cf. Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2022 with references.

Hurrian Storm God Teššub occurs only in syllabic writing in some personal names attested in KARKAMIŠ A7 (see above),[105] where °-*ti-sa-pa* may reflect either /-tispa/ or /-tis(s)apa/ (cf. the Urartian Teišeba), vs. *ti-su-pi* at YAZI-LIKAYA and FORTIS-*su-pa*- in TELL AHMAR 1 (10th–9th century), with vowel /u/ as in cuneiform occurrences.

Mesopotamian deities in Luwian inscriptions include the god Ea (*i-ia*- in ÇIFTLİK and *i*-LITUUS- in TÜNP 1), Damki(an)na (*ta-mu-ki-na*- in ÇIFTLİK), and perhaps Marduk (*ma-ru-ti-ka*- in ERKİLET 1),[106] although the interpretation of *ma-ru-ti-ka*- has been recently challenged by Simon (2023b:337–340), who suggests that it represented a Palaic form corresponding to the Luwian *Marwainzi*-deities. Such a hypothesis, however, appears less likely from a historical point of view. Furthermore, the form *i-tà*- in TÜNP 1 §4 may represent the hieroglyphic adaptation of the god El, where the sign ⟨tà⟩ (/da/) may point to the flapping of original /l/ (cf. Yakubovich 2010b). Finally, the Semitic goddess Ba'lat occurs in Hieroglyphic Luwian as *pa-ha-la-ti-(i)*- (HAMA 4).

Place names, as mentioned, are generally more difficult to assign to a specific language, and their etymology quite often remains unexplained. However, in Iron Age Luwian texts, some place names can be identified that almost surely cannot be explained as Luwian.[107] Excluding logographically written place names, Semitic toponyms include (*A*)*suriya* 'Assyria' (nom.sg. *su+ra/i-ia-sa-ha*(URBS) in ÇINEKOY §6, acc.sg. *a-sú+ra/i*(REGIO)*-ia-na-'*(URBS) in KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3 §7), **Il(a)pa* 'Aleppo' (cf. the derivative adjective *i-la-pa-za*- 'of Aleppo' in KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3 §§6, 11),[108] **Imatu* 'Hama' (cf. adj. *i-ma-tu/tú-wa/i-ni*- 'of Hama' in several inscriptions from Hama),[109] and perhaps also *Mizri* 'Egypt' (("MÍ.REGIO")*mi-za+ra/i*(URBS) in KARKAMIŠ A6 §4)[110] and **Zura* 'Tyre' (cf. adj. *zú+ra/i-wa/i-ni*- in KARKAMIŠ A15b). Among foreign names of uncertain origin, it is possible to mention *W/Pal(a)stin(a/i)*-, attested in inscriptions from Hama, Aleppo, and especially Amuq, Gurgum (*ku+ra/i-ku-ma*-) in MARAŞ 8 §3, and Mukiš (*mu-ki-sa*-) in SAMSAT 2. Among the ethnonyms, one should certainly mention Muški 'Phrygian' (*mu-sà-ka*-) in KARKAMIŠ A6 §6, of unclear origin.

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105   Less certain is the alleged compound LITUUS+*ta-sa-pa*-CERVUS-*wa/i-ti-i-sa* (KARKAMIŠ A6), perhaps /tasparuntiya-/ 'of Teššub and Runtiya' (cf. CHLI I:125).

106   Cf. Giusfredi 2012:164.

107   Cf. Giusfredi 2012:164–165.

108   This city name is otherwise written logographically.

109   On the unexpected initial ⟨i⟩ instead of ⟨a⟩ in **Il(a)pa* and **Imatu*, see Simon 2023a.

110   If related to Akkadian *miṣru* 'border, frontier,' but the etymology remains unclear (cf. Röllig 1993:265).

Recently, d'Alfonso (2019:144–145) suggested that the toponym *pa+ra/i-zu-ta$_x$* occurring in the inscription of TOPADA may be read as Prizunda, explained as an Anatolian formation in *-wanda* from a base *priz-* < *prik-* with a problematic palatalization of the velar stop. This base is compared by d'Alfonso to the stem βριγ- found in Βρίγες, the name that the Phrygian had in their Macedonian homeland according to Herodotus (7.73), which, however, has been equated by Anfosso (2020) to the Phrygian form *vrekes* occurring in the Phrygian tablet found in the Persepolis Fortification Archive.[111] Βρίγες and *vrekes* can be traced back to a preform **wreg/k-*, the former being the regular Macedonian outcome and the latter, the regular Phrygian one.[112] Were this the case, if we assume that the Hieroglyphic Luwian *pa+ra/i-zu-ta$_x$* was somehow related to the Phrygians, it could hardly reflect the original Phrygian form, but should be derived from the Macedonian outcome of the root, which appears less likely. Furthermore, d'Alfonso's hypothesis has also been critically discussed and rejected by Simon (2022:155–157) on phonological grounds.

5   Concluding Remarks

Despite the strong impermeability of the Hieroglyphic Luwian epigraphic culture—virtually no use of cuneiform is attested before the conquest by Assyria in the single kingdoms—the mosaic of languages and cultures of Syria and southern Anatolia resulted in a limited number of cases of interference that emerge at both the lexical and grammatical levels.

The deeper interactions appear to occur with the local Semitic languages— and even among those, leaving aside the case of Cilicia, the examples of grammatical interference are very few—while loanwords occasionally come from Akkadian, thereby indicating a distinction in the type of sociolinguistic relationship with the local languages and with the language of Assyria. It should be emphasized, however, that all these observations pertain only to the official language used in inscriptions: to what extent Luwian was actually spoken and to what extent it was influenced by other languages remains, and likely will remain, an unanswered question.

If lexical and grammatical borrowings are present but not numerous, and sometimes opaque, foreign onomastics emerges quite clearly in the sources,

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111   Anfosso's suggestion has been rejected by Simon (2022a:156–157 fn. 3). For different explanations, see Obrador-Cursach 2020a:243–244.

112   Conversely, the other name of the Phrygians, Φρύγες, is traced back to the root **bʰrug-*.

with a number of interesting adaptation strategies. This may indicate the presence of different peoples but, once again, it is necessary to emphasize that the language from which a personal name derives does not necessarily correlate with the linguistic profile of a person who bears that name.

Lycian and the Achaemenid Empire

Valerio Pisaniello

1 Lycia under Persian Domination

As reported by Herodotus (1.176), Lycia fell under Persian domination after the military campaigns of the Persian general Harpagus (ca. 540 BCE), who defeated a small Lycian army on the plain of Xanthos and conquered the city. Herodotus's account reports the destruction of the acropolis and the almost complete extermination of the local population: only 80 families, which were not in the city at that time, survived. The city was then resettled and repopulated under the Persians, who also probably established a ruling dynasty.[1]

In 516/515 BCE, the Persian king Darius I included the Lycians and the Milyans in the first *nomos* of his Empire—together with Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, and Pamphylians—charged with a joint tribute of 400 talents of silver (Herodotus 3.90), and in 480 BCE the Lycians provided Xerxes's navy with 50 ships (Herodotus 7.92).

However, before 468 BCE, Lycia allied with Athens and became a member of the Athenian League, won *by persuasion* (πείσας) by the Athenian general Cimon (Diodorus 11.60.4), that is, probably without any military action and seemingly without changes in the internal political organization of Lycia.[2] Thus, Lycians and Telmessians—probably a separate political entity in this period—appear in the Athenian tribute lists of 452/451, 451/450, and 446/445 BCE, but shortly afterwards, before or during the Peloponnesian War, the alliance with Athens broke down.[3] According to Thucydides (2.69), when the Athenian general Melesander was sent to Caria and Lycia to collect the tributes, he encountered resistance in Lycia and was killed (430/429 BCE). This episode appears also to be mentioned in the following passage of the Xanthos trilingual (TL 44a:44–46), included in a section that describes the military exploits of the

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1   Cf. Bryce 1986:101.

2   Cf. the discussion in Bryce 1986:103–104, with further references. On the relationship between Lycia and Athens, see also Keen 1998 and Thonemann 2009.

3   The Lycians are not listed among the Athenian allies by Thucydides (2.9).

inscription's author,[4] although the text is unfortunately poorly understood, and no translation could be provided upon which scholars might agree.[5]

> *xbane: ese: trbbẽnimi: tebete: terñ se milasãñtrã: pddẽneke: xbãnije: izredi ehbijedi: hãtahe*: (TL 44a:44–46)

It is generally assumed that the same inscription also provides evidence for a Lycian–Persian alliance at the end of the 5th century BCE, because its author appears to be indicated as an ally of the satrap Tissaphernes against Amorges, the satrap who led a revolt in Caria against the king Darius II (413–412 BCE):

> *mukale: tewẽte: sãma=ti: trbbetẽ: turaxssi: zxxãna terñ: ese: humrxxã: te-bãna terñ: hãtahe* (TL 44a:53–55)

The interpretation of the infinitive *tebãna* as "to overwhelm, conquer, defeat" or the like,[6] following the accusative *Humrxxã* (i.e., Amorges)[7] led scholars to assume that this passage contained the account of the conclusion of Amorges's rebellion as reported by Thucydides (8.28). However, the recent analysis of the inscription by Oreshko (2021) challenges this interpretation: his explanation of the verb *ese ... tebe-* as "join with, make alliance with" radically changes the meaning of the passage: "(the writing) of the victory when he fought at Thorax (against) the enemy which is from Samos—(an island) facing Mykale—and when he joined forces with Amorges." The obvious implication is that the passage cannot refer to the rebellion of Amorges, but rather describes something

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4   The name of the author of the inscription, indicated as "son of Harpagus," originally contained in line 1 of TL 44a and in the Greek epigram (TL 44c:24: […]ς), is unfortunately broken. The most favored hypotheses involve Xerẽi (cf., e.g., Imbert 1894:459–461; Childs 1979; Bryce 1986:97 fn. 126) and Xeriga (cf., e.g., Laroche 1974:145–146; Bousquet 1975; Schürr 2007:32).

5   Different interpretations were provided by, e.g., Schürr 2010:152 ("Bei Kyaneai nieder Trbbenimi warf das Heer und den Melesandros, vor den eki, den kyaneischen, eigenhändig *hãtahe*") and Oreshko 2021:138 ("[the writing] of the victory with his [own] hand over Milesander in the neighborhood/on the plain of Kyaneai, when he joined forces with *Trbbẽnimi* at Kyaneai"). For a recent explanation of *hãtahe* as 'in the communal tomb,' see Martínez-Rodríguez (2023). It is not completely assured that the passage refers to the defeat of Melesander in 430/429 BCE. Because other personal names in the inscription seem to point to the Dekelean War (413–404 BCE), Thompson (1967) suggested that the Melesander mentioned here cannot be identified with the Athenian general in Thucydides's account. See, however, Bryce 1986:107–108.

6   Cf., e.g., Melchert 2004a:61–62 and Neumann 2007:342, with references.

7   See already Imbert 1889–1890:160.

that happened before. However, Oreshko's arguments are not conclusive,[8] and we do not know of any other episode involving Amorges apart from his rebellion against the Persian king.

At the beginning of the 4th century BCE, there was a conflictual situation in western Lycia, seemingly resolved by the son of Xeriga, the dynast Arbinas/Erbbina, who may have moved the administrative center to Telmessos, in the west.[9] Western Lycia remained firmly under Persian domination: one the inscriptions on the sarcophagus of Pajawa at Xanthos, dating between 370 and 360 BCE based on stylistic grounds,[10] mentions the Lydian satrap Autophradates,[11] who is also represented in an audience scene in one of the reliefs on the monument (west side). It is not known why the satrap Autophradates is represented on this monument; it is possible that Pajawa contributed to the suppression of Datames's rebellion in Cappadocia (the so-called Revolt of the Satraps, 372–362 BCE) by the Lycian satrap Artembares/Arttum̃para.[12] Conversely, in eastern Lycia, Perikle of Limyra probably joined the rebellion against the great king Artaxerxes II, and apparently also succeeded in defeating Artembares in the west and possibly conquering Telmessos.[13]

However, after the Revolt of the Satraps, the Persians restored their authority over the country, and Lycia became part of the Carian satrapy, ruled by Mausolus until 353 BCE, and later by Pixodarus, as is known from the trilingual Lycian–Greek–Aramaic inscription of the Letoon at Xanthos (N 320),[14] before it was conquered by Alexander the Great in 334/333 BCE.

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8   The comitative function of the preverb *ese* is not enough to exclude a hostile meaning for the verb, and the objection that there are "*enough* terms which render aggressive military actions [...] so that there is no real necessity to look for further terms with comparable meaning" simply has no point.

9   Cf. Bryce 1986:110–111.

10   Cf. Childs 1981:76.

11   TL 40d: *ebeija: [xr]uwata: m=e=ije pijetẽ wat[aprdd]ata: xssadrapa: pa[rz]a*, "These votive offerings, Wataprddata, the Persian satrap, gave them."

12   Cf. Childs 1981:76–77.

13   Cf. TL 104b:2–3: *ẽke: ese: perikle: tebete: arttum̃parã*, "When Perikle defeated Arttum̃para." Note, however, that Oreshko's explanation of *ese ... tebe-* as "join with" (see above) would totally change the meaning of this passage and the historical reconstruction of the events. On the conquest of Telmessos, cf. Theopompus FGrHist 115 F 103, 17.

14   On the problems involving the date of this inscription, cf. Childs 1981:77–78 with references.

2   The Lycian Language

From a genealogical point of view, Lycian is an Anatolian language of the
Luwic group, of which two different varieties (or dialects) are attested: so-called
Lycian A, employed for the majority of Lycian inscriptions, and Lycian B or
Milyan,[15] attested by only a few inscriptions and still partly unknown, although
it is clear that it preserves some archaic features compared to Lycian A.[16]

Lycian is currently attested by approximately 200 inscriptions, including
inscriptions on stone (the most numerous and the most relevant ones for the
study of the Lycian language), pottery, and metal vessels, to which one should
add several coin legends.[17] Most of the inscriptions date to the 5th and 4th cen-
turies BCE. Earlier inscriptions may exist, such as N 300a (ca. 580–550 BCE) and
N 300b (7th century BCE), two graffiti on pottery from Rhodes, but the Lycian
status of the texts is far from assured.[18] Thus, so far, the earliest assured Lycian
inscriptions are found on two ceramic sherds dated to ca. 500 BCE, one from
Xanthos (N 313a) and one from the vicinity of Patara (see Dündar and Réveil-
hac 2021).

As for the content of Lycian inscriptions, the great majority are funerary
inscriptions, but some votive inscriptions, decrees, and a long propagandis-
tic text are attested. Furthermore, although most of the Lycian inscriptions
are monolingual, a limited number of multilingual texts are found. In most of
them, the Lycian text is sided by a Greek inscription (see Chapter 15), but in
some cases an Aramaic text is (also) found.

3   Sources for the Study of Lycian–Iranian Language Contact

Although Iranian personal names and sporadic loanwords can be found in
several Lycian inscriptions, there are few plurilingual documents containing

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15   On the conventional glottonym *Milyan*, see Quadrio 2012.
16   For the position of Lycian within the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European family, see,
      e.g., Melchert 2003c, with references. On Milyan, see now Martínez-Rodríguez 2021a. For
      the dialectology of the Luwic subgroup of the Anatolian branch, see Rieken 2017 and
      Kloekhorst 2022a.
17   Lycian inscriptions have been first published by Kalinka 1901 (siglum: TL) and Neumann
      1979 (siglum: N = *nova*). Melchert (2001b) and Réveilhac (2018) re-published the whole cor-
      pus (the latter with some addenda), to which one should also add the inscriptions edited
      by Christiansen (2019b). An online edition of the Lycian corpus is available on the eDiAna
      project website (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php). For coin legends,
      see Mørkholm and Neumann 1978; Vismara 1989a, 1989b, 1996; and Müseler 2016.
18   See Neumann 1979:10–11, with references.

inscriptions in Aramaic, one of the administrative languages of the Achaemenid Empire. Of these plurilingual inscriptions, only two also include a Lycian text, namely a very fragmentary bilingual inscription from the Letoon at Xanthos (N 319, inv. no. 5743), where the Lycian text is almost completely lost (it is uncertain whether a Greek version was also present),[19] and the well-known trilingual inscription of the Letoon (N 320),[20] where the Lycian and Greek texts are combined with an Aramaic inscription that is the shortest—but also the most official—of the three, because it adds important administrative information missing from the other texts, particularly the date of the decree and the title of Pixodarus as "satrap of Caria and Lycia" (vs. "satrap of Lycia" in the other versions). Conversely, the Lycian and Greek texts, which match each other quite closely, added some information concerning the local administration that was not included in the Aramaic version (e.g., the names of the local rulers), probably because it was less relevant for the Achaemenid government.

The other plurilingual inscriptions include a short Greek–Aramaic bilingual from Limyra (TL 152), in which, however, the Greek text appears to be later than the Aramaic one,[21] and a small Greek–Aramaic fragment from Xanthos.[22] It is uncertain whether these fragments also included a Lycian version beside the Greek and Aramaic ones. Furthermore, another Aramaic fragment was found in the Letoon of Xanthos (inv. no. 5627), which was possibly part of a bilingual or trilingual inscription.[23]

Finally, it has been suggested that the Lycian-Greek bilingual inscription TL 45 from Xanthos, containing a fees decree of Pixodarus, was a trilingual also including an Aramaic version, currently lost.[24]

As for external sources, besides two short inscriptions coming from Egypt— N 301, engraved on a statuette of the god Min (but probably a modern forgery),[25] and N 307, on a silver head-vase belonging to the Tell el-Maskhuta hoard, but probably manufactured in Lycia[26]—and some coins with leg-

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19   Cf. Neumann 1979:43 and FdX between VI 172–175.
20   Cf. FdX VI.
21   Cf. Vernet and Vernet 2015, with further references.
22   Cf. Lemaire 1992.
23   Cf. FdX between VI 170–172.
24   Cf. Bousquet 1986:105. It is possible that one of the two Aramaic fragments found at Xanthos belonged to this inscription, although the preserved text does not allow any conclusion (but note that both the Aramaic fragments mention the citizens of Pinara, who also occur in TL 45).
25   See the discussion in Neumann 1979:11–13.
26   Cf. Strong 1964. The inscription consists of three names in Lycian characters (*pedrita*,

ends,[27] no Lycian inscriptions are found outside Lycia. However, Lycians are sometimes mentioned in the Achaemenid administrative sources from Persepolis and Babylonia, although these occurrences are not particularly helpful for the investigation of language contact (see section 6 below).

4   Iranian Influence on Lycian

Despite Persian domination, Lycia remained relatively independent, and local dynasts ruled the country in place of Persian satraps, at least until the end of the 5th century BCE.[28] Although Achaemenid influence appears in monumental and figurative art from at least 480/470 BCE (and shortly afterwards in coinage),[29] likely testifying to the will of the local elites to mimic the Persian style, the linguistic influence of the Old Persian and the other languages of the Achaemenid Empire on Lycian is restricted to sporadic lexical items mostly referring to the Persian administrative apparatus. No clear evidence of grammatical interference has been identified so far. Besides these few loanwords, Iranian linguistic material in Lycian inscriptions includes some personal names and a couple of ethnonyms.

4.1   *Onomastics and Ethnica*
Lycian sources, both inscriptions and coin legends, attest 17 names of Iranian origin (most of which are currently unattested in Iranian sources), summarized in the following table,[30] which are often invoked in the debate about Persian influence on Lycia and have sometimes been used to suggest a significant Persian settlement in Lycia after Harpagus's conquest.

Lycian form	Iranian model	Greek form
Arppaxu	*Arbaka	Ἅρπαγος, Ἀρβάκης
Arssãma	*R̥šāma	Ἀρσάμης
Art(t)um̂para, Artuñpara/i	*R̥tambara	Ἀρτεμβάρης

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alixssã[(ñ)tra], and *mal[ija]*) identifying the figures in a relief representing the Judgement of Paris (i.e., Aphrodite, Paris, and Athena).

27   Cf. Zahle 1989:175.
28   Cf. Childs 1981:79.
29   Cf. Zahle 1989 and 1991.
30   See Schmitt 1982b for occurrences and analysis.

(*cont.*)

Lycian form	Iranian model	Greek form
Erbbina	*Arbina	Ἀρβίνας, Αρβιννας
Erijamãna	*Ariyamanā	Ἀριαμένης, Ἰεραμένης
Ertaxssiraza	*R̥taxšaça	Ἀρταξέρξης, Ἀρταξέσσης
Humrxxa (Mil. Umrgga)	*Humarga	Ἀμόργης
Kizzaprñna; Zisaprñna	*Čiçafarnā	Τισσαφέρνης
Magabata	*Bagapāta	Μεγαβάτης, Βαγαπάτης
Mede	Māda (ethnicon)	Μῆδος
Miθrapata, Mizrppata	*Miθrapāta	Μιτροβάτης
Ñtarijeuse/i	*Dārayauš[31]	Δαρείος
Utãna	Utāna	Ὀτάνης
Wataprddata	*Vātafradāta	Αὐτοφραδάτης
Wexssere, Waxssere	*Hvaxšara	Κυαξάρης
Widrñna	Vidr̥na	Ὑδάρνης
Wizttasppa (Mil.)	Vištāspa	Ὑστάσπης

Besides these names with assured Iranian origin, others are also possibly Iranian, but their etymology is highly uncertain: Aruwãtijese/i, Ddenewele, Sppñtaza, Wedewiẽ, Zagaba/Zaxaba.[32]

It should however be noted that some of the Iranian names attested in Lycian sources refer to people who did not reside in Lycia (Erijamãna, Ertaxssiraza, Humrxxa/Umrgga, Kizzaprñna/Zisaprñna, Ñtarijeuse/i, Utãna, Wataprddata, Widrñna). Therefore, if we exclude the names with doubtful Iranian origin, we are left with only nine personal names—some of them possibly borne by more than one person—referring to people who probably lived in Lycia for a more or less extended period. However, it is difficult to evaluate both the nativeness of these people and their relations with the local communities. Even the occurrence of two Iranian names, Arppaxu and Erbbina, in the genealogy of the Xanthian dynasty cannot be taken as evidence for Persian descendance; it may simply have been a political choice to emphasize the connection with the Persians. Furthermore, the few Iranian names attested in the inscriptions of Roman imperial period cannot prove the existence of Persian families settled

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31   Haplological form from the Old Persian *Dārayavauš*.
32   See Schmitt 1982b:385–387 for their analysis.

in Lycia in the Achaemenid period. All in all, these few names cannot tell us much about the Persian presence in Lycia, and archaeological evidence supporting a significant Iranian settlement is also scarce.[33]

Two Iranian ethnica are attested in Lycian sources: *Parz(z)a-* 'Persian' (TL 44c:2, 14; TL 40d:1–2) from Old Persian *Pārsa* and *Mede-* (TL 29:7, possibly also TL 37:3–4, as a personal name) from Old Persian *Māda* 'Median.'[34]

4.2   *Loanwords*

Beside personal names and ethnica, a small number of Iranian loanwords can be detected in Lycian, mostly titles referring to the Persian administrative apparatus. First of all, the name of the satrap is found: Lycian *xssadrapa-* (TL 40d:1, with genitival adjective *xssadrapahi* in TL 44b:26) reflects the Median outcome of Old Iranian **xšaϑra-pā-* (vs. Old Persian *xšaçapāvan-*, cf. Schmitt 2014:284–285), as in other languages (cf. the Greek σατράπης, ξατράπης, Aramaic ḤŠTRPN', 'ḤŠDRPN, Akkadian *ahšadrapannu*, etc.). Lycian also attests the derivative verb *xssaϑrapaza-* 'rule as satrap' (N 320:1), based on an unattested noun **xssaϑrapaza-*, adapted from the same Iranian model through the addition of the agentive suffix *-aza-* (cf. Melchert 2004a:85).

Less clear is the origin of the title *gasabala* (TL 104b:2), which, according to the most likely hypothesis, would be a loanword from an unattested Old Persian title **ganzabara-* 'treasurer' (cf. Imbert 1916:341). Two difficulties make such an explanation problematic: (1) Lycian *gasa-* as the rendering of Old Persian **ganza-* and (2) the irregular correspondence between *l* and *r*.[35] The first problem has been resolved by Mancini (1987:41–43), who showed that an Aramaic intermediation can account for Lycian *gasa-*: some Aramaic forms reflecting Old Persian **ganza-* testify that an assimilation /nz/ > /zz/ occurred in Aramaic, thereby providing us with the model on which the Lycian *gasa-* depended (cf. also Gr. γάζα). As to the second point, there is a likely morphological explanation: Lycian has a class of agent nouns in *-ala-* (< **-é-leh₂*), also including professional nouns (cf. the Luwian nouns built with the cognate suffix *-alla-*), which makes it plausible that the Old Persian title could have been reinterpreted as an agent noun in *-ala-* (cf. Sasseville 2014–2015:112 fn. 18).[36]

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33   Cf. Bryce 1986:158–163 and Keen 1998:61–66, 76–79, with further references.

34   Cf. Schmitt 1982b:375–376 and Keen 1998:149–150. However, see a different interpretation by Melchert (2004a:38), who suggests a stem *Medes-*.

35   See Benveniste 1966:103: "la forme est unique en lycien et n'autorise aucune conclusion, notamment sur le rapport phonétique de *r* et de *l* dans la langue." Cf. also Schmitt 1982b:386.

36   See also Merlin and Pisaniello 2020:186.

Another problematic title is *haxlaza-* (TL 44a:51), denoting a representative of the Persian king, clearly a compound professional noun in *-aza-* with the verbal stem *xla(i)-* 'take control of' as the second member. It is unanimously agreed that this title is identical to *asaxlaza-* (N 320:5), but the correspondence between the respective first elements *ha-* and *asa-* is difficult to explain. Because the fluctuation between /s/ and /h/ cannot be accounted for,[37] Melchert (2004a:22) tentatively suggested that *haxlaza-* may represent a hybrid form with Iran. *ha-* matching Lyc. *asa-*. However, a different explanation is provided by Oreshko (2021), who reads the sequence *se haxlaza* in TL 44a as a single word *sehaxlaza*. In this way, both the elements *seha-* and *asa-* could be traced back to a preform **eseha/*asaha*: **asaha-xla-za* would have been contracted to *asa-xla-za*, while **eseha-xla-za* would have given *seha-xla-za* through apheresis. However, such an explanation seems quite complicated, and the etymology of the reconstructed element **eseha/*asaha* is also problematic.[38] Thus, a satisfactory solution for Lyc. *haxlaza-* is still lacking.

It has been suggested that Lycian *ñtipa-* derives from OPers. *dipi-* 'inscription' (for the Lycian adaptation of the Old Persian /d/ cf. the personal name *Ñtarijeuse/i* from OPers. **Dārayauš*), which is, in turn, a loanword (cf. Elam. *tuppi* < Akkad. *ṭuppu* < Sum. dub 'clay tablet'). The Lycian term is currently found in only two inscriptions: the occurrence in TL 124 from Limyra appears compatible with the meaning 'inscription' (*ebẽññẽ xupu se=i hri=ti ñtipa m=e=ti adẽ uhetẽi …*, "This tomb and the *ñtipa* that (is) on it, Uhetẽi made it …"); however, the occurrence in TL 88, where the word occurs with the unknown term *tezi*, appears to suggest a different meaning, such as 'sarcophagus' or the like (*se ẽke lati ddaqasa m=ene ñtepi tãti ñtipa tezi se ladã ehbi*, "and when Ddaqasa is dead, they shall put him in the *ñtipa tezi*, as well as his wife").[39]

Finally, another loanword that is not properly Iranian, but that was introduced to Lycian through the intermediation of the Achaemenid Empire, is *sixla-* 'shekel' (TL 57:5–6; N 320:22),[40] which has Semitic origin (root *šql* 'weigh'). However, the direct model cannot be the Persian σίγλος. The trilingual inscrip-

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37 Cf. however Carruba's (1977:284) explanation: *asaxlaza-* < **asa-(h)axlaza*.

38 According to Oreshko, it would be comparable to Luw. **azasa-*, the base of **azasal(l)a/i-*, allegedly represented by the writing LIS-*za-sa-li-sà* in the inscription of MEHARDE (§6). See, however, the different interpretation by Yakubovich (ACLT2), who reads LIS-*za* (dat. pl.) *sa-li-sà* (nom.sg.).

39 Cf. Schmitt 1982b:386 with references. Recently, Seyer and Vernet (2023) have suggested that *ñtipa* could mean 'additional' or 'inserted.' Thus, the passage in TL 124 would mean something like "This tomb and that which is above in addition," while in TL 88 one should understand *ñtipa tezi* as 'added burial place.'

40 Cf. Zahle 1989:177.

tion of the Letoon provides the equivalence between Gr. δύο δραχμάς and Lyc. *sixlas*, an accusative plural surprisingly not preceded by a numeral. The Lycian text runs as follows:

> *se=sm̃mati: xddazas: epi=de arawa: hãti km̃mẽtis: me=i=pibiti: sixlas:*
> "And they shall oblige the slaves, as many as they release into freedom, (that) they shall give shekels."[41] (N 320:20–22)

Based on the evidence of TL 57, where *sixla-* occurs twice (first in the singular and without any numeral; second in the plural and preceded by *tupm̃me* 'two'), Frei (1977:70–71) suggested that the plural in the Letoon trilingual should be understood as a distributive, so that the sentence "they shall give shekels" would mean "each one shall give (one) shekel." Were this correct, the trilingual would provide evidence for the equivalence between one shekel and two drachmas (i.e., 8.4 g), which corresponds to the standard Lycian stater, ranging from 8.3 to 8.6 g. Such a weight perfectly corresponds to the Babylonian shekel standard after Darius's reform, established at 8.4 g,[42] which, however, is different from the Persian coin-shekel called σίγλος, weighing approximately 5.6 g and matching the Lycian *ada*.

5   Lycian Influence on Aramaic

As mentioned, Achaemenid official sources found in Lycia only include Aramaic inscriptions, which are usually—and possibly always—combined with a Lycian and a Greek version of the same text.

Anatolian lexical items occurring in the Aramaic texts found so far in Lycia are limited to personal names, theonyms, and local toponyms. However, some Lycian influences on Aramaic morphology and syntax can be possibly identified at the level of the single document.

5.1   *Onomastics*

The issue of Anatolian personal names, divine names, and toponyms in the Aramaic inscriptions from Lycia is somewhat problematic because, in some cases,

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41   Translation by Melchert 2018.
42   Cf. Bivar 1985. As a further confirmation of the equivalence between one shekel and two drachmas established by the Letoon trilingual, note that the half-shekel corresponded to one drachma, and the Aramaic term for 'half-shekel,' *zwz*, was used in Pahlavi texts as a heterogram for *drahm* 'drachm.'

the Aramaic adaptation of such words appears to diverge from the alleged model found in the Lycian version of the text. The following table provides a list of all the Aramaic adaptations of Anatolian names occurring so far in inscriptions from Lycia, together with the corresponding Lycian and Greek forms (nouns between brackets occur outside the plurilingual documents attesting the corresponding Aramaic forms):

	Aramaic	Lycian	Greek
Personal names	ʾRTYM	–	Ἀρτιμας (?)[43]
	ʾRZPY	–	*Ἀρσαπις (?)
	KDWRS	qñturahi	Κονδορασις
	KTMNW	katamla, (ekatamla)	Ἑκατόμνος
	PGSWD[R]	pigesere, (pixesere)	Πιξώδαρος, Πιξώταρος
	SYMYN	eseimija, seimija	Σιμία
Theonyms	ʾRTMWŠ	(ertẽmi, ertemi)	Ἄρτεμις
	KNDWS/Ṣ ʾLHʾ KBYDŠY	xñtawat(i) xbidẽñne/i	Βασιλεύς Καυνίος
	LʾTW	(*letº)[44]	Λητώ
Toponyms	ʾWRN	arñña	Ξάνθος, (Ἄρνα)[45]
	KRK	–	(Καρία)
	PNR	(pinale)	(Πίναρα)
	TRMYL[46]	trm̃mili	(Τρεμιλεῖς, Τερμίλαι)
	ZYM[WRʾ][47]	(zẽmure)	(Λίμυρα)

As can be seen, besides *TRMYL* and possibly *ZYM[WRʾ]*, the other Aramaic adaptations do not perfectly match the corresponding Lycian forms (when attested). Because Pixodarus was a Carian satrap, it has been suggested by Molina Valero (2004) that Carian may have played a role in the transmission of some of these names in Aramaic. In other words, the Aramaic adaptations would often reflect a Carian model rather than a Lycian one. This seems to be plausible for the name of the satrap and his father: Pixodarus may originally be a Carian name

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43   On this name, see also Chapter 7, section 2.1.

44   Indirectly attested in the relational adjective *leϑϑi* 'of Leto' (< *letehi*) found in TL 44b:61.

45   Attested in Stephanus of Byzantium.

46   Seemingly used as a toponym, although the Lycian model is an ethnicon.

47   Cf. Vernet and Vernet 2015.

composed by the stem *pik-* 'splendor' (= Luw. *piha-*)[48] and the possible Carian outcome of PA **sówedor* 'horn,'[49] and the name of the satrap Hekatomnos is attested in Carian as *k̂tmño-*.[50]

The origin of the Lycian name *qñturahi* is not clear.[51] However, in any case, the preservation of /s/ in the Aramaic adaptation *KDWRS* makes it difficult to take the Lycian form as the model,[52] although the same phenomenon can be observed in some Greek adaptations of Lycian names, e.g., Πορασιματις < *purihimete-* (vs. Πυριματις and Πορηματις). For (*e*)*seimija*, Carruba (1977:295) suggested a Semitic origin, quoting Σείμιος < *Esmun* at Hierapolis, which could explain the final nasal in the Aramaic form, possibly restored by a scribe who recognized the name. However, it may instead be an Anatolian name,[53] which would leave the final -*n* in *symyn* unexplained, and the possibility of an accusative case ending transferred to the Aramaic text is very unlikely (note the Lycian accusative *eseimiju*).

The theonym *KNDWS/ṣ 'LH' KBYDŠY* matches Lyc. *xñtawat(i)- xbidẽñne/i* "King of Kaunos," but the correspondence is not perfect, because both the ending -*s/ṣ* in the first name and -*sy* in the toponym cannot depend on the Lycian form. Therefore, Adiego (1995:19–21) suggested a Carian origin, although the exact Carian form to be reconstructed is quite debated.[54] After a careful reconsideration of previous hypotheses, Simon (2024:334–341) suggested that *KNDWṢ*—the correct form, according to Vernet (2021a:85 fn. 9)—perfectly reflects *$k(V)δ(V)w(V)τ$, the reconstructed nom.sg. of the Carian noun for 'king' (matching Luw. *hantawatt(i)-*), whereas *KBYDŠY* could be analyzed, following Vernet (2021a:89–90), as the gen.sg. of the Carian name of the city Kaunos (*kbid-*) with the addition of an Aramaic nisba.

The curse formulae in the three versions of the Letoon trilingual involve different deities: the Lycian text mentions the *pñtrẽñni* mother of the local

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48   See Adiego 2007a:337 for this stem.
49   The Lycian form *pig/xesere* is an odd adaptation. As suggested by Schürr (2001:104), the element -*sere* may be a translation of Car. **/so:dar/*, if it can be traced back to the root **k̂er-* 'horn.' See also eDiAna s.v. Cuneiform Luwian *šāwatar* 'horn' (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni -muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=798).
50   Cf. Adiego 2007a:378 and Adiego 2023:12–14. The Lycian form (*e*)*katamla* shows dissimilation (note that the cluster /mn/ is currently not attested in Lycian; cf. Melchert 1994:297– 299).
51   Cf. Neumann 2007:306.
52   The correspondence between *d* and *ñt* is not problematic (cf. Gr. Δεμοκλειδης > Lyc. *ñtemuxlida*; OPers. **Dārayauš* > Lyc. *ñtarijeuse/i*).
53   Cf. Neumann 1996:147.
54   See, e.g., Schürr 1998:145–147, Molina Valero 2004:1015–1016, Vernet 2021a.

sanctuary, her children, and Eliyana; the Greek text has Leto, the descendants, and the nymphs; and the Aramaic version mentions Leto, Artemis, and Satrapati. Although Leto and Satrapati are not problematic,[55] the name of Artemis, *'RTMWš*, shows a ⟨w⟩ that may point to the Lydian form *artimu-*, rather than Lyc. *ertẽ/emi* and Gr. Ἄρτεμις, perhaps with Old Persian intermediation.[56]

The Aramaic name of the city of Xanthos, *'WRN*, cannot depend on the Lycian toponym *arñna*, but it looks more similar to the form attested in Hittite and Luwian sources, *awarna*.[57] The Carian form of this toponym is not attested so far, such that we cannot determine whether the Aramaic form may be based on it. Furthermore, the name of Pinara, *PNR*, found in two Aramaic fragments from Xanthos, shows an ⟨r⟩ that is also found in the Greek name of this city, Πίναρα, but it is not original: the Lycian form is *pinale*,[58] and the city is attested in Hittite and Luwian sources as *pinali*.[59]

Finally, one last case of mismatch between the three versions of the Letoon trilingual should be addressed here. The Lycian and the Greek texts appear to concern the establishment of a cult for two gods, the King of Kaunos and a deity called *arKKazuma*/Αρκεσιμα, whose identity is not clear. Conversely, the Aramaic version is different, involving a dedication for *KNDWṢ 'LH' KBYDŠY WKNWTH*, "the King, god of Kaunos, and his colleagues." Dupont-Sommer (FdX VI:146) wondered whether the scribe of the Aramaic version could have replaced an original theonym with a generic designation in the form of a "pluriel d'intensité désignant un personnage supérieur, éminent, divin." A different solution has been proposed by Carruba (1999), who suggested that the Aramaic version may instead be the most reliable one. In his view, the Aramaic term may be the translation of a Carian noun referring to the divine circle of the King of Kaunos, derived from the same base of the Hittite verb *irhai-/arhai-* 'make the round, enumerate, conclude,' which designated the serial offerings to the gods in the Hittite rituals (although the common Hittite term for the divine circle is *kaluti-*). Such a hypothesis involves some formal problems, so Vernet (2023) suggested that the theonym might rather reflect a Carian compound consisting of *ar-* 'companion' (cf., e.g., Hitt. *ara-* 'id.') and a form perhaps comparable to Hieroglyphic Luwian *has(s)ammi-* 'mighty'. Conversely,

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55   See Vernet 2021b, with references.

56   See Simon 2024:341–342, with references.

57   Cf. KUB 19.55 + KBo 18.117 l.e. 1–6 (LNS, CTH 182), YALBURT 13 §3, EMİRGAZİ block B l. 3.

58   See Melchert 2004a:50 for the occurrences. On the problems related to the correspondences between Lycian, Greek, and Aramaic as far as the name of this city is concerned, see also Merlin and Pisaniello 2020.

59   Cf. KUB 19.55 + KBo 18.117 l.e. 1–6 (LNS, CTH 182), YALBURT 12 §§2–3, YALBURT 13 §2, EMİRGAZİ block B l. 3.

the Lycian and the Greek versions would have reproduced the Carian term as a loanword.[60] However, one should also note that ἀρκέσιμος exists in Greek as a derived adjective from ἄρκεσις 'help,' attested as a personal name in Attica, Euboea, and Rhodes. Therefore, it is possible that Αρκεσιμα should be regarded as the adaptation of an original Carian name intended to match a Greek native word not too distant in meaning from the model, which could also explain the formal mismatch with the Lycian *arKKazuma*.

5.2 *Grammatical Interference*

The word order with a topicalized object in initial position found in the Aramaic texts of the bilingual inscription from Limyra (TL 152) and the Greek–Aramaic fragment from Xanthos is consistent with the marked word order common to most Lycian funerary inscriptions. This is, however, quite common in Aramaic votive inscriptions, as shown by other examples from Asia Minor and Egypt.[61]

More complex is the issue of word order in the Letoon trilingual inscription. The Lycian, Greek, and Aramaic texts all include a number of sentences having the verb in first position with respect to the subject and the object. Such a coincidence might be explained as a document-level influence of one language on the other two (although we should keep in mind that Pixodarus belonged to a Carian dynasty, and phenomena of language contact in this inscription may involve languages other than those found on the monument).[62] Were this the case, which language would be regarded as the model? Aramaic may seem like a good candidate, having a common VSO order. However, Folmer's (1995:521–587) analysis has shown that, unlike Old Aramaic (with few exceptions), the word order of Achaemenid Aramaic does not require the verb to be at the beginning of the sentence, although it is sometimes found there, and one should also consider the different status of the Aramaic text compared to the Lycian and Greek versions. On the other hand, several Lycian inscriptions include sentences with the verb in first position, such that Garrett (1994:30–31) suggested that the basic Lycian word order was in fact VSO. This is potentially untrue, because some examples appear to indicate an unmarked SVO word order,[63] but

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60   According to Carruba, based on the Lycian form, the origin of this term should be traced back to a Hittite or Luwian ablative of the noun *arha-* + the suffix *-uma* (= ancient *-umna*): *arhaz-uma vs. *arhati-uma.

61   Cf. Folmer 1995:563–564.

62   Also note the initial verb at the beginning of the Lycian and Greek text of TL 45 ([*pijet*]*e* =*ñn=ẽ pixe*[*s*]*ere* = ἔδωκεν Πιξώδαρος), which was perhaps a trilingual inscription (see above).

63   Cf. Kloekhorst 2011:17–18.

sentences beginning with a verb are nevertheless quite common and may represent a stylistically preferable choice in Lycian. Also note that some Lycian sentences without a direct match in the Greek and Aramaic versions of the Xanthos trilingual still show a verb in initial position. Therefore, it is likely that Lycian should be regarded as the model language, at least as far as word order in the Greek version is concerned.[64]

On the morpho-syntactic level, one may observe occasional lack of agreement in gender in the Aramaic texts from Asia Minor. In Lycia, there is only one example: *šNT ḤD* "first year" in N 320:1. Such a phenomenon is usually explained by invoking the absence of a feminine grammatical gender in the Anatolian languages, which distinguish between only a common and a neuter gender. However, as noted by Folmer (1995:743), the same phenomenon can be also found elsewhere in Aramaic. Also note that the case mentioned above occurs in the dating formula at the beginning of the Aramaic text, which has no counterpart in the Lycian and the Greek versions. Even if this example were due to the influence of an Anatolian language, it might not have been Lycian.

6 Lycians in the Achaemenid Sources

Although Lycians are not attested in Old Persian royal inscriptions, the *turmiriyap* (an ethnicon attested in several variants adapted from Lyc. *trm̃mile/i-* 'Lycian', derived from *trm̃mis-* 'Lycia', with Elamite plural ending *-p*) frequently occur in several Elamite administrative tablets from the Persepolis Fortification Archive.[65] In these texts, Lycians are attested as workers (*kurtaš*) and are never mentioned with their personal names.

Conversely, in Babylonian sources of Achaemenid period, Lycians are currently attested in only one tablet from the Murašû archive at Nippur (second half of the 5th century BCE).[66] This text mentions five possibly Anatolian personal names, three of which refer to people explicitly indicated as *Lycians* (ᴸᵁ*ta-ar-mi-la-a-a* = /tarmilaya/): Tilapa (ᵐ*ti-la-pa-'*), perhaps to be compared with Τληπας (attested in Pisidia), his father Minna (ᵐ*mi-in-na-'*), also occurring in other texts of the archive, possibly corresponding to the names Μιννας, Μιννις,

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64   See also Melchert 2021: 357–358.

65   See Schmitt 2003 and especially Tavernier 2015 (with an explanation of the attested variants and a broad discussion on the different sources); cf. also Hallock 1969:764–765 for the occurrences. Conversely, Lycians are never attested so far in the administrative tablets found in the Persepolis Treasury Archive.

66   PBS II/1, 53 (Darius II, 422 BCE).

Μιννιων, etc., attested in several regions of Anatolia.[67] Three other names are quite uncertain: ᵐ*ar?*-[…]-*ga*- (but other readings are possible), ᵐ*ad-ra*-ʙᴀʀ-ᴜᴅ-*hi*, and ᵐ*na-bi/ga-la-an-ga*.[68] Note, however, that none of these names has a clear Lycian etymology—not even an assured Anatolian one.[69]

7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has addressed the issue of language contact between Lycian and the languages in use in the Achaemenid Empire (particularly, Aramaic and Iranian languages). Despite the inclusion of Lycia in the Carian satrapy, language contact phenomena appear rather superficial, involving only the adaptation of proper names and sporadic borrowings, mostly titles (e.g., *xssadrapa-* and *gasabala-*) and other technical terms (*sixla-*), which—at most—show the degree of impact that the Achaemenid administration may have had on local politics. This can be further confirmed by the trilingual inscription of the Letoon, a decree most likely issued by the Carian satrap Pixodarus (despite it being presented as the initiative of the Xanthians), whose Aramaic version was a rather different document—and probably the official one, from the perspective of the Achaemenid administration—compared to the Lycian and Greek versions, because, on the one hand, it included important administrative information lacking in the other versions; on the other hand, it did not include as many details concerning local matters.

No example of relevant grammatical interference can be observed, which further shows that these languages had a different status compared to Greek, whose interplay with the epichoric language was more extensive, as will be discussed in Chapter 15.

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67 Cf. Zgusta ᴋᴘɴ 317–318 and Curbera 2013:133.

68 On these names, cf. Eilers 1940:206–215 and Tavernier 2015:170–173, with further references.

69 One may note that the element *-pa* in Tilapa could somehow match the element *-piya* frequently occurring in Anatolian personal names, but Lycian names usually have the participle *-pijemi* as second member. As for Minna, there are some Lycian personal names that might possibly be compared (Mñãtahi, Mñneτeide, Mñnuhe), but a perfect match is not currently found.

Lydian and the Languages of the Achaemenid Empire

Elena Martínez-Rodríguez

1 Introduction[1]

The so-called Lydian Empire met its end in 546 BCE when Harpagus, the Median general of Cyrus the Great, sacked and destroyed Sardis during his military campaign in Anatolia. Under the reign of its last king, Croesus, the Lydian power—which had already incorporated the former Phrygian power into its territory—had expanded its borders beyond the regions of the Halys River. Prior to that, interactions between the Lydians and their Iranian neighbors in the east are indirectly referred to by later Greek historiographical sources.[2]

Most of the Lydian inscriptions date from the Achaemenid period, which appears to have been a prosperous and wealthy moment for the Lydians that lasted until Alexander's conquest of Anatolia in 333 BCE. Although Sardis was established as one of the main administrative centers of the Achaemenid power in the west, the Iranian names and titles related to the Persian domination in Lydian are, paradoxically, fewer than in Lycian, which remained mostly under the control of local rulers. However, this reduced number may be illusory, for the compilation of Lydian loanwords is conditioned by our incomplete understanding of this language. Neither can we rule out the possibility that this contradictory situation reflects Lycian efforts to show a favorable inclination toward the Achaemenid power by adopting, especially, personal names, thereby producing the external effect of a marked *Iranization*.

The treatment of the Iranian material is subject to some methodological considerations that concern both the sources and the terminology employed.

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1 I thank Ignasi Adiego for his valuable comments and discussion on the manuscript. Needless to say, I remain solely responsible for any errors contained herein.

2 For instance, and according to Herodotus (1.74), the conflict between the Mermnad Alyattes and the Median Cyaxares, which ended around 585 BCE by means of a dynastic intermarriage. On a contemporaneous level, Assyrian sources indirectly report glimpses of Lydian history, such as Gug(g)u of Luddi asking for assistance against the Cimmerian attacks, who is to be identified with the Heraclid king Gyges in Greek historiography (*The Rassam Cylinder*, 644–636 BCE, Pedley 1972:82). For a recent state of the art on Lydian history, see Payne 2023b.

First, due to the reduced number of Achaemenid inscriptions, the bulk of Persian personal names must be, in many cases, reconstructed in an Old Persian form that is based on indirect attestations. These indirect forms, also called *collateral tradition*, are constituted principally by the languages spoken in the sphere of the Achaemenid power, mainly Elamite and Babylonian—but also Aramaic, the administrative language of the Achaemenid Empire throughout its territory—which conforms a linguistic variant itself (*Imperial Aramaic*) defined by its high level of standardization. Consequently, linguistic contact from Persian to Lydian comprises at least two levels of traceability: the comparison of direct textual material found in Lydia, particularly Aramaic, and the thorough examination of individual elements that may respond to an Iranian-speaking component in the Lydian territory, although highly difficult to determine. According to this situation, the above material is classified, following Tavernier (2007), as direct, semi-direct, and indirect attestations of Persian.

A second problematic approach involves the use of the term *Median*, both politically and linguistically, which has direct implications in explaining the presence in Lydian (and other languages) of one or another variant of the commonly known Iranian Median/Persian *doublets*. One of the most firmly established beliefs around the early steps of the Achaemenid power is that its political rule was adopted from the so-called Median Empire, which the Persians succeeded. As a consequence, non-Persian Iranian technicisms and administrative terms have traditionally been assumed to be Median loanwords under the argument of political prestige (e.g., Med. *xšāyaϑiya-* 'king'), which is known as the Théorie de l'emprunt (see literature review in Rossi 2010:197).

However, a lineal inheritance of political powers has been challenged, from an historiographic perspective, to be only sustained in the Greek Herodotean view, whose use of the term *Persian* is mainly political, and which may neglect the Iranian ethnical diversity that might have constituted the Achaemenid sphere of power. This statement was accompanied by a dialectological debate, opposed to the *theory of borrowing*, that proposed three different explanations (an inner Persian early dialectal variation, a situation of diglossia, or the specific use of Achaemenid Persian in the royal inscriptions as an administrative language) as possible alternatives to the traditional Persian–Median pairing (see Rossi 2021:54–55).

The debate remains open, and, for the present chapter, it shall suffice to bear in mind that the label *Median*, linguistically speaking, is applied to non-Persian Iranian variants found in Old Persian/Achaemenid sources, and that an ethnohistorical attribution to these forms may be subject to revision in the coming years within the field of Iranology.[3]

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3   Even if the Neo-Assyrian sources mention the toponym *Mada* and refer to their location in

This chapter will review, in relation to Lydian, two general conceptions found in early literature around Achaemenid language contact to the west: 1) that Anatolian languages operated as an intermediary between Iranian and Greek, and 2) that a strong Iranization of Anatolia can be perceived from onomastics in the Greek local tradition. Both statements have onomastics as a pivotal source of study, mainly because our understanding of Lydian remains a work in progress, but also because the bilingual material can shed light on some questions of linguistic contact between Lydian and the languages of the Achaemenid Empire.

2 Onomastics and Phonetic Interference

2.1 *Iranian Names in Lydian, Aramaic from Lydia, and Greek Sources*

Old Persian	Lydian	Aramaic	Greek
A-r-t-x-š-ç- /R̥taxšaça-/	Artaksašša (/Artaksaersa)	ʾRTḤšsš	Ἀρταξέρξης (/Ἀρταξέσσης, Tralleis)
R̥tima-	Artima- / Artyma-	ʾRTYM	Ἄρτιμας
R̥ta-pāna-	Artapāna-	---	Ἀρταπάνης
Miϑra- (DN)	Mitrata-	---	Μιθράτης (?)
id.	Mitridašta-	---	Several
*Raučaka-/*Rōčaka-/ *Raučaka-	Rašaka-	RZK	Ῥωσάκης/ Ῥοισάκης
?	Partara-	---	Παρταρας

2.1.1 Directly Transmitted (i.e., Iranian Names Written in Old Persian cuneiform)

i. *Artaksašša-*. Only one of the Achaemenid kings' throne names, Artaxerxes, has endured in Lydian sources (LW 2:1, 41:1–2*, 71:3*, LW/N 115:1). Lydian *Artaksašša-* (LW 2:1) faithfully reflects the phonetics of Old Persian /R̥taxšaça-/ (*A-r-*

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t-x-š-ç-, Schmitt 2011:105), also represented under the Aramaic form *'RTḤšsš* in the Lydo-Aramaic bilingual (KAI 260:1), and which parallelly survives in a Greek inscription from Caria, Ἀρταξέσσης (Tralleis 139, Gusmani 1980:33). This Greek form from Tralleis differs from the canonical naming of the Hellenic tradition, Ἀρταξέρξης, which is generally explained as an assimilation of the second element to the (also throne) name, Ξέρξης (cf. OPers. /Xšayaršā-/, *X-š-y-a-r-š-a*).[4]

In turn, the Greek form Ξέρξης, whose origin is still debated (cf. OPers. /Xšayaršā-/, *X-š-y-a-r-š-a*), bears a striking resemblance to Elamite /Kšerša-/ (*Ik-še-ir-(iš)-ša*), which, according to Schmitt (2011:270–271), is adapted from a two-syllable OIran. **Xšairšā* or **Xšēršā*. It is not impossible, then, that an unattested Anatolian form might have operated between Elamite /Kšerša-/ and Greek Ξέρξης. Parallelly, the canonical Greek Ἀρταξέρξης finds correlated forms in Lyd. *Artaksaersa* (LW/N 115:1) and Lyc. *Ertaxssiraza* (TL 44b:59–60).

Therefore, epichoric names from Anatolia show two traditions. Besides the official Iranian form with a straight transmission in Lydian, Aramaic, and Greek from Caria (OPers. *R̥taxšaça-* > Lyd. *Artaksašša-*, Aram. *'RTḤšsš*, Gr. [Tralleis] Ἀρταξέσσης), we are left with some variants that resemble the Greek canonical form Ἀρταξέρξης (cf. Lyd. *Artaksaersa*, Lyc. *Ertaxssiraza*).[5]

The notion of an Anatolian language acting as an intermediate source between Persian and Greek is commonly assumed (Mancini 1991). Nevertheless, the recently discovered Lydian inscription LW/N 115 may challenge this view. Lydian *Artaksaersa-* (LW/N 115:1, noted by the editors as a scribal error: *Artaks{a}ersa*, Gusmani and Akkan 2004:147) is likely to have been reintroduced from Gr. Ἀρταξέρξης, rather than being a genuine adaptation of an Iranian variant. This idea is, in turn, supported by the Lydian form *satrapa-* present in the same inscription and indicated by the editors of the inscription as an adaptation from Greek (see Lyd. *satrapa-* below in Section 3.1.).

That the hesitance in the pronunciation of Old Persian *R̥taxšaça-* may have produced different spellings appears to be substantiated by similar variants attested in other languages, such as the Persian form *Ardaxcašça* in the Venice Vase (AVsa, of unknown provenance, Kent 1950:157), or the shortened Aram. *'RTḤš* in Egypt (TAD B 3.3:1, cf. regular *'RTḤšsš*).

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4   However, it is impossible to determine whether the forms with a broken ending in LW 41:1–
    2* (*Arta* [...]) and LW 71:3* (*Artaksa* [...]) belong to the form *Artaksašša-* or to the alternative
    Artaksaersa- (LW/N 115:1) that appears in one of the most recently found Lydian inscriptions
    (Gusmani and Akkan 2004), and which certainly recalls the Greek form Ἀρταξέρξης.

5   Tavernier (2007:305) reconstructs an Iranian **R̥taxšayarša-* as the source of Lyd. *Artaksaersa*
    and Gr. Ἀρταξέρξης and separates it from Lyc. *Ertaxssiraza-*. For the latter, the author proposes
    a form **R̥taxširaça-*, which may be connected to Bab. *Ar-tak-a-hi-si* through a hypocoristic for-
    mation **R̥taxši- < *R̥ta-xš-iya-* (Tavernier 2007:306).

Ergo, not all single names attested in secondary tradition may be reconstructed from an Old Persian form (e.g., Lyd. *Artaksaersa-* from Gr. Ἀρταξέρξης, rather than from ***R̥taxšayarša*, Tavernier 2007:305), and, at the same time, not every variant can be attributed to a process of *contaminatio*: that is to say, variants might have been parallelly originated in different languages through processes of shortening or dissimilation due to similar difficulties in pronouncing the two sibilant consonantal groups in a row (cf. OPers. *Ardaxcašca*, AVsa; Aram. *ʾRTḤŠ*, TAD B 3.3:1).

2.1.2   Semi-directly Transmitted (i.e., Iranian Names Written in Imperial
           Aramaic Sources from Anatolia)

ii. *Artima-* (*li*-poss. adj., LW 42:3, but *Artyma-* in seal LW 104). It appears as Ἀρτί-μας in Greek sources from Lycia, Pamphylia (LGPN v.B 69), Kybiratis, Milya, and Pisidia (LGPN v.C 64), and as *ʾRTYM* in Aramaic of Lycia (TAM II 3, 1025) as well as in a cylinder seal of unknown provenance (mid-late 5th century, Bivar 1961:119). The name goes back to OIran. **R̥tima-* (cf. Bab. *Ar-ti-im* and Elam. *Ir-ti-ma*), hypocoristic from the widespread *R̥ta*-names (Schmitt 1982a:30).

The similar set of Greek names Ἀρτεμᾶς and Ἀρτειμας (LGPN v.B 62, LGPN v.C 58–59) are rather to be connected to the theophoric names of DN Artemis (cf. Lyc. *Erttemi*, Vernet 2016). Note that Gérard (2005:36–37) attributes a more opened phonetic value to ⟨i⟩ in Lyd. *Artima-*, for which reason it could either fall into the theophorics Ἀρτεμᾶς/Ἀρτειμας or be influenced by them (cf. ⟨i/y/e⟩ alternation in *qid, qyd, qed* and ⟨i/y⟩ *sirma/syrma*, as stated by the author).

2.1.3   Indirectly Transmitted (i.e., Attested in Collateral Traditions from
           Neighboring Languages, or Greek Literary Sources)

iii. *Artapãna-* (*li*-poss. adj., LW 8:5). From OPers. **R̥ta-pāna-* 'under *Arta*'s protection' (Elam. *Ir-da-ba-na* Tavernier 2007:299, Gr. Ἀρταπάνης, Schmitt 1982a: 29), already identified by Gusmani (1980:33), who abandoned his early association with the very widespread Persian name Ἀρτάβανος (1964:62), carried by Darius's brother Artabanus, from **R̥ta-bānu-* 'having the splendor of *Arta*' (Schmitt 1982a:29), cf. Aram. *ʾRTBNW* (Tavernier 2007:293).

iv. Theophorics related to the god Mithra are notably widespread throughout the Achaemenid Empire. In the case of Lydian, two variants coexist, **Miϑra-* and **Miϑri-*, both stemming from a Median form (cf. OPers. **Miça-*, Tavernier 2007:43). On the one hand, Lyd. *Mitrata-* (LW 23:4, 24:1?) is analyzed as an *ata*-hypocoristic (**Miϑra-āta-*, Tavernier 2007:252).[6] On the other hand, Lydian

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6 The association with Μιθράτης (Schmitt 1982a:32) appears isolated (x2: Media first cen-

presents the form *Mitridašta-* (LW 23:5, 23:18, 24:1, 24:22, 24:23, 24:27), whose *i*-vocalic stem would correspond to an adjectival derivation **Miϑri-š* 'the Mithraic one.'[7] The subsequent steps in the Lydian derivation are unclear. Schmitt (1982a:32) refers to three different Iranian analyses of the second element *-dašta-*: 'given by *Mitra*,' 'granted by *Mitra*,' and '*Mitra*'s hand' (Tavernier 2007: 485 with references). However, as Oreshko points out (2019:217), *-dašta-* remains quite isolated as an onomastic element in the Iranian milieu. For this reason, considering his reformulation of the phonetic value of Lyd. ⟨d⟩ as an approximant /j/, the author proposes the pronunciation of Lyd. *Mitridašta-* as /Mitri-jašta-/, allowing the identification of the second element of the anthroponym with the Iranian root *yaz-* 'to worship'; hence '*Mitra*-Worship' (see the details of this derivation in Oreshko 2019:21–219).

The fricative of **Miϑra-/Miϑri-* is adapted in most of the languages of the Achaemenid Empire, as in Lydian, by means of a voiceless alveodental stop (cf. Elam., Bab., Lyd. *Mitr-*, Aram. MTRᵒ), with the exception of Lycian (*Miϑr-*, *Mizr-*). The fricatives in the case of Lycian may be the product of a secondary development caused by contact with the dental trill, as well as by the direct adaptation of the fricative in Iranian **Miϑra-*. In the case of Lydian, however, it is difficult to assert whether the /t/ rendering (*Mitr-*) reflects a secondary transmission from the languages that have already adapted the name with a voiceless alveodental stop (i.e., Elamite, Babylonian, or Aramaic), or is the proper Lydian adaptation from the Iranian pronunciation of the fricative /θ/.

In Greek, the preservation of the aspirated dental stop /tʰ/ (Μιθρα-/Μιθρι-/Μιθρο-) coexists with the voiceless alveodental stop variant (Μιτρα-/ Μιτρι-/ Μιτρο-). Interestingly, the distribution of the Greek forms between /Mitr-/ and /Miθr-/ in literary sources appears consistent within the chronological framework. The variants transmitted with ⟨t⟩ appear attested in Aeschylus (6th–5th centuries BCE, Μιτρογαθής, *Pers.* 43) and Herodotus (5th century BCE, Μίτρα 1.131, Μιτραδάτης 1.110, 121, Μιτροβάτης 3.120, 126, 127), whereas the variants with ⟨θ⟩ have a late distribution (e.g., Plutarch, first century CE, Μιθριδάτα *Artax.* 15). The spread of the ⟨θ⟩ variants throughout the Hellenic world appears to have a direct correlation with the increase of the Greco-Iranian direct contacts from the Hellenistic period onward, and, in particular, after the conflicts involving the Pontic king Mithridates VI Eupator with Rome, also referenced in Plutarch's

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tury BCE, CIG 3.4674, and partially restored Attica 4th–3rd centuries BCE, SEG 13:140) compared to the wide diffusion of the name in Anatolia itself.

7 According to Tavernier, who reconstructs **Miϑri-š* 'the Mithraic one' in relation, however, to Aram. MTRš (2007:253).

works. In addition, the fricativization of Greek aspirated stops (in this case ⟨θ⟩ /tʰ/ > /θ/) during the *koiné* further supports the distribution of the attestations.[8]

This is not to say that all Greek ⟨t⟩ variants trace back to a late source, for a secondary development of the fricative in contact with the trill could account for Greek Μιθρ° (*t* > *ϑ* /_r). In this sense, note that the Greek military and historian Xenophon, who arrived at Babylon in the 401 BCE after joining the expedition of Cyrus the Younger against Artaxerxes II—and who can therefore be regarded as first-hand testimony—accounts for both variants, Μιθριδάτης (*Anab.* 2.5.35) and Μιτροβάτης (*Hell.* 1.3.12).[9] Thus, for what the presence of /t/ concerns, Greek /Mitr-/ variants may have Lydian as one of their potential sources of transmission.

v. *Partara-* (LW 40:2). The connection with Iranian **Fratara-* (Gusmani 1980:40) from Old Persian *fratara-* 'erster, vorderer' was rejected by Schmitt (1982a:31). Tavernier (2007:487) also proposes the interpretations **partara-* 'warrior' (Av. *parət-*) or the ethnonym **Parϑa-ra-* 'Parthian' (Elam. *Bar-sa-ra*). This presents a straightforward phonetic adaptation in the Greek counterpart of the Greco-Lydian bilingual (Gr. Παρταρας).

vi. Historiographical accounts in Greek secondary sources provide the names of a handful of Iranian satraps and generals who allegedly operated in Anatolia. Some of these names recall—with varying degrees of accuracy—those anthroponyms attested by Lydian; however, in the absence of an Aramaic attestation from Anatolia or a direct Old Persian form, any associations must be approached with caution. This is the case of the historiographical reference by Diodorus Siculus to the Persian satrap Ῥωσάκης (first century BCE, 16.47.2, 17.20.6,7), alternatively as Ῥοισάκης by Plutarch (first c. CE *Cim.* 10.8, *Alex.* 16), which appears in the Lydian inscription LW/N 115 as *Rašaka-* (Gusmani and Akkan 2004:147). The name was classified as Iranian and put in connection with Aram. RZK from Egypt (Schmitt, *apud* Gusmani and Akkan 2004:148 fn. 20). Parallelly, Tavernier (2007:284) linked the Greek forms Ῥοισάκης and Ῥωσάκης to **Raučaka-* / **Rōčaka-* / **Raučaka-*, a *-ka*-extension variant of **Raučah-*

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8 It is important to bear in mind that the endurance of a given form in the literary tradition is conditioned by the effects of both posterior copying and modern edition processes; for this reason, a revision of the *stemma codicum* and the *apparatus criticus* of the works containing these forms is a *desideratum*. I thank Ignasi Adiego for this observation.

9 In the epigraphic material from Anatolia, attestations with fricative variant /Miθr°/ are particularly productive from the second century BCE (sec. compilation by LGPN, s.v.). The oldest attestation, Μιθραδάτης (LGPN v.A 316-7), dates between 340–266 BCE in the Pontos region, where the Mithridatic Dynasty originated. Conversely, /Mitr°/ variants are scarcely found, not even compiled by LGPN, and of difficult dating, according to the collection available at https://epigraphy.packhum.org/.

'light.' Lydian *Rašaka-* is hardly the source of Greek Ῥωσάκης nor Ῥοισάκης, which appears to reflect the diphthong of the initial syllable in Iranian. It has been argued that the inscription (LW/N 115) containing *Rašaka-* shows a notable Greek influence, which points to an apparent Greek to Lydian direction of the contact, as other elements of the inscription seem to indicate (see *Artaksašša-* above, 2.1.a.i, and *satrapa-* below, 3.1.). Nevertheless, the vocalic timbre in the equations (Gr. Ῥοισάκης / Ῥωσάκης vs. Lyd. *Rašaka-*) likely responds to independent receptions of the Iranian name.[10]

vii. Lydian theonym *Pakilli-* and anthroponym *Pakiwa-* have been largely discussed in relation to the name of the Greek god Bacchus, on the basis of both epigraphical (LW 20 Greco-bilingual Lyd. *Pakiwa-* = Gr. Διόνυσ-) and literary sources (Euripides in *The Bacchants*, referring to the Lydian origin of Bacchus). The long-standing debate revolves around the direction of the adoption, and even in the latest literature on the topic, opposing ideas are sustained (e.g., Oettinger 2021:117 in favor of a Lydian origin, but Garnier and Sagot 2020:171 fn. 6 postulating a Greek Ionian source). Regardless of the direction of the borrowing, the association between the two gods must be post-Mycenaean, as Oettinger (2021:117) emphasizes in relation to the dating of Dionysus (Myc. DN *di-wo-nu-so*).

Lydian presents two separate formations, PN *Pakiwa-* and DN *Pakilli-*. The first is inflected only in *-li*-derivatives (*Pakiwali-*, on *li*-suffix see Gérard 2005: 86), marking either a patronymic (LW 20, LW 21) or possession (LW 51 and LW 10:22). The identification of the second, DN *Pakilli*, as a god name, is inferred from the pairing with the theonym *Armτa* in LW 22 (lin. 9, *kawe=k Pakillis Armτa=k* "and the priest of *Pakilli* and *Armτa*"), and its use as a name of the calendar month in the Lydo-Aramaic bilingual ([o]*raλ išλ Pakillλ* "in the *išλ* month of *Pakilli*," LW 1:2/KAI 260:1).

Interestingly, Gusmani (1964:74–75) connected Lyd. *Pakiᵒ* with the epichoric Greek names Βάχχιος (Pergamon, Hell.) and Βάκις (x3, North Black Sea, 3rd–2nd c. BCE), of which several variants are attested in Anatolia.[11] However, it

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10   Lydian diphthongs /aw, ow, ew/ are preserved in Lydian (Gérard 2005:47), such that we must assume **Rōčaka-* as the potential source, followed by a change /o/ > /a/. Note that, diachronically, accented **ó* is preserved only if preceded by a labiovelar (**Cwó-* > **Co*, Gérard 2005:41); otherwise > *a*. Whether this constraint is to be applied to the phonetic adaptation of foreign personal names depends on further future examples of names containing /o/. A second possibility accounting for Lyd. /a/ is to explain an opening process of /o/ > *a*, caused by the previous trill /r/ (***Rošaka-* > *Rašaka-*), analogous to the opening caused in **u* > *o* (Gérard 2005:40).

11   For a compilation of the attestations with phonetic discussion, see Martínez-Rodríguez forthcoming.

is important to note that Greek sources of Asia Minor attest a series of epichoric Βαγα-names (Βάγας, Βαγατεύς, Βάγης, Βαγώας, LGPN V.A 95), long known in the field of Iranology to derive directly from Iranian theophorics containing OPers. *Baga-* 'god' (Zwanzinger 1973:40), perhaps transmitted in Greek through other languages of the Achaemenid Empire (cf. Gr. Βαγαπάτης ~ Aram. BGPT, Bab. *Bag-ʾ-a-pa-a-tu₄*, from **Baga-pāta-* 'protected by god' (Tavernier 2007:137), and also found in place names (e.g., Lydian toponym Βάγις, modern Güre, KON §123-1). The phonetic coincidence between Lyd. *Paki°* and Iranian Βαγα- in the point of articulation (the labial stop *p/b*, and the velar stop *k/g*) might respond to an association between the Lydian and the Persian divinities. In turn, this connection may be supported on calendar grounds.

In the Lydo-Aramaic bilingual, Lydian *Pakilli-* is part of a dating formula (LW1 2 *[o]raλ išlλ pakillλ* "in the *išlʾ* month of *Pakilli*") and corresponds to the Aramean month of MRḤŠWN (KAI 260:1),[12] for which reason we can place the Lydian month of *Pakilli-* around October and November (Donner and Röllig 1964:306). Revealingly, in Old Persian, the month name *Bāgayādi-* (lit. "(month of) worship of the god") corresponds to the eighth month of the calendar, September or October, according to Schmitt (1988), thus roughly matching the time of the year attributed to the Aramean month calendar in the Lydo-Aramaic bilingual, and thereby offering a possible explanation for the association between Iranian *Baga*-names and Lyd. *Pakilli-*.[13]

2.1.4 Doubtful

viii. The anthroponym Lyd. *Šiluka-* (LW 1:4) / Aram. SRWK- (KAI 260:4) in the Lydo-Aramaic bilingual has traditionally been classified as an ethnonym in view of its close resemblance to Aram. SLWK- (cf. Bab. *Si-lu-ku* / Σέλευκος, Lipiński 1075:159 fn. 2 with references), but Tavernier classifies it as a Lydian toponym (2007:535). Neither the direction of the adaptation nor the source language of the form are evident. At first sight, Aramaic presents no problems in adapting Lyd. /l/ (cf. Lyd. *kulumšiš* = Aram. KLW, LW 1:8/KAI 260:6); as such, it is reasonable to assume that the Aramaic form was the original source (Aram. SRWK- > Lyd. *Šiluka-*). However, the circumstances of the notation of these names, both added *a posteriori* in the inscription, as Lipiński observes (1975:158–159), also permits the explanation of a scribal error in the rendering of the Aramaic form.

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12   Aram. MRḤŠWN has long been known to equate to the month *araḫsamnu* of the Babylonian calendar (Donner and Röllig 1964:306, but see discussion in Cohen 2015:431), and, as noted by Yakubovich, to correspond with the wine harvesting season (2019a:301).

13   On further calendar associations with the month of Dionysus, see Martínez-Rodríguez forthcoming.

2.2   *Lydian Names in the Achaemenid Empire Sources*

Lydian onomastics have a limited diffusion in Achaemenid written sources, documented only in local bilingual documents and, very restrictedly, in the royal monumental inscriptions of the Achaemenid Empire.

2.2.1   Lydian Local Sources

Lydian onomastic elements in the Lydo-Aramaic bilingual (LW 1/KAI 260) are directly adapted in Aramaic without remarkable phonetic problems (the top-onym for Sardis being the only exception). Other Aramean documents that appear located outside Sardis, but still within the sphere of Lydian influence, are monolingual (e.g., Daskyleion, headquarters of the Hellespontic Phrygia satrapy).

i.   Anthroponyms: (1) Lyd. *Kumli-* (LW 1:4) ~ Aram. KML (KAI 260:4), (2) Lyd. *Mane-* (LW 1:3) ~ Aram. MN (KAI 260:4); (3) Aram. NNŠT (KAI 258:1) reflects Lyd. **Nanašta-*, sec. Tavernier (2007:531, erroneously connected with Lycian after Donner and Röllig 1964:304). The assumption lies in the identification of Lyd. *Nannas* (LW 20) as a common Anatolian name, and in the classification of *-št-* as Lydian derivation. However, a suffix *-št-* in Lydian would be only circularly sustained by the connection between **Nanašta-* and *Mitridašta-*, whose derivation process remains unclear (see *Mithra*-names, 2.1.c.iv. above). The distance between the location of the Aramaic inscription KAI 258 in Cilicia (Keseçek Köyü, near Tarsus) and the center of Lydian influence further undermines the association.

ii.   Theonyms: (4) Lyd. *Artimu-* ~ Aram. *'RTMW-* (KAI 260:7, LW 1:8). Note that the adaptation of the Lydian *-u*-stem is maintained in the Aramaic version of the Letoon trilingual of Lycian N 320 (cf. Lyc. *Erteme/i-*).

iii. Ethnonyms: (5) Lyd. *kulumši-* (LW 1:8) ~ Aram. ZY KLW (KAI 260:7) 'of Coloe/the Coloeans', (6) Lyd. *ipsimši-* (LW 1:8) ~ Aram. *'PŠŠY* 'of Eph-esus'/the Ephesians (see grammatical interference below, Section 4).

iv.   Toponyms: (7) Aram. SPRD (KAI 260:2) likely reflects the Iranian pronun-ciation OPers. *Spard-* (see analysis below) rather than an adaptation from Lyd. /f/ > Aram. /p/b/ (**Lyd. *Sfard-* > Aram. SPRD). However, Lipiński (1975:157) claims, in view of Aram. SPRB ~ Lyd. *sfarwa-* 'monument' (see lexical interference below, Section 3), that Aramaic *p* might have a frica-tive realization also in not-postvocalic position.

2.2.2   Peripheral Sources

Lydia (Lyd. *Sfar(d)-*) is referred to in the royal Achaemenid inscriptions from its capital Sardis, the seat of the satrapy of homonymous designation. The form is represented in the different languages of the Achaemenid Empire:

OPers. *Sparda-* (*S-p-r-d*), Bab. *Sa-par-du*, Elam. *Iš-bar-da*, and Aram. sprd-. As Tavernier (2007:91) states, it is difficult to know whether the Babylonian and Elamite spellings reflect a direct adaptation of the Lydian form—that is, whether they are representing the Lydian labiodental fricative /f/ or, instead, the Persian occlusive /p/.

Because a phonetic inventory containing a labiodental fricative /f/, like that of Old Persian, is less likely to have adapted /f/ as /p/ (Lyd. *Sfard-*, OPers. *Sparda-*), the model language of the Persian adaptation cannot be Lydian. The presence of /p/ in the Old Persian *Sparda-* of the Achaemenid sources is compared by Garnier and Sagot (2020:172) to the development of the labiovelar in Median (e.g., **eḱu̯o-* 'horse' > OPers. *asa* vs. Med. *aspa*). Nevertheless, the Median mediation appears to more accurately represent the change Ind.-Iran. **śu̯* > Med. *sp* (Gershevitch 1965:28), which allows reconstructing a pre-Lydian form **Swar(i̯)-* (Gusmani 1975). The reconstruction of a labial glide has the advantage of conciliating the diachronic developments of the too-distant equivalences Median/Old Persian /p/ (*Sparda*) ~ Greek ∅ (Σάρδις) (for those details, as well as the phonetic value of Lyd. ⟨w/f⟩, see Chapter 15).

The Lydians are referred to by the ethnicon **Spardiya-* 'Sardian,' as registered in Elamite in workers lists from the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, dating between 509–493 BCE (Elam. PF 0873 ᴬˢ*iš-pár-ti-ia-ip*, Henkelman and Stolper 2009:306). This reflects an inner Iranian derivation process (cf. Lyd. *sfardẽnτ-* 'Sardian,' Yakubovich 2017, but *sfardẽti-*, Gusmani 1964:203 and Gérard 2005:129).[14]

3 Lexical Interference

3.1 From Achaemenid Languages into Lydian

As previously noted, Lydian exhibits a remarkable lack of loanwords related to the administrative lexicon, or to any terms of the Achaemenid sphere. Only one such term has emerged: Lyd. *satrapa-* 'satrap,' occurring in one of the most recently discovered Lydian inscriptions (LW/N 115:3, Gusmani and Akkan 2004:148). The expected outcome of the Lydian adaptation would, according to the equation Lyd. *Artaksašša-*: OPers. /R̥taxšaça-/, be ***ksatrapa-*, reflecting the initial cluster of Med. **xšaθrapā-* (on attestations, Tavernier 2007:436) as does Lycian as well (*xssadrapa-/xssaθrapa-*, DLL 85). In this inscription, how-

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14 Babylonian *Is-pa-ar-da* is unlikely to be the adaptation of a non-existent Lyd. *Spardaya-* (?) (indirectly referred to by Tavernier 2007:515 with references).

ever, the original source appears to derive from one of the Greek variants of the loanword σατράπης (besides ἐξατράπης, ξατράπης). This is in agreement with the hesitation in writing the name of Artaxerxes seen in this inscription (see 2.1.a.i above), and which appears closer to the Greek adaptation. It is not coincidental that these two Hellenized forms appear precisely in the same inscription, and one should suspect that the author of the inscription was notably influenced by the Greek pronunciation, if they were not a Greek speaker themselves.

3.2   *From Lydian to Achaemenid Languages*

Aramaic and Lydian are reciprocally employed by scholars in the bilingual LW 1/KAI 260 for glimpsing elusive words. Our limitations in interpreting a full Lydian text, however, imposed a further difficulty in terms of matching linguistic elements and structures of a bilingual composition. Thus, Lipiński (1975:157) considers Aram. SPRB (KAI 260:3) to be a Lydian loanword from *sfarwa-* 'monument' (LW 10:19, 11:1), assuming that ⟨p⟩ may present a fricative articulation. The argument is based mainly on the phonetic similarity of both elements, as well as the likelihood of relating a term of the funerary semantic field with the funerary typology of this inscription, for Lyd. *sfarwa-* is not present in the Lydian counterpart of the bilingual. The context of the line does not allow for interpreting SPRB as 'monument,' but rather as the space of the tomb proper, as the author admits ("the *dromos* which (leads) toward the monument", Lipiński 1975:157).

4   **Grammatical Interference**

Among the languages of the Achaemenid Empire, only Aramaic provides an opportunity to ascertain possible cases of grammatical interference with Lydian; the bilingual LW 1/KAI 260 offers the best perspective at the moment. It is first necessary to specify that the direction of the adaptation of this composition is not self-evident, even though the inscription owner's name is thoroughly Lydian. The distribution in the monument displays Lydian in the upper part and Aramaic below. With respect to the content, Lipiński notes some literary *topos* belonging to the Ancient Near East and Biblical milieu occurring in this text (1975:157),[15] although literary formulae are, however, an easily trans-

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15   See Pisaniello 2021:128 (with literature) on the formula 'earth and water' (Lyd. *kλidaλ kofuλ=k* = Aram. *TYN W=MYN*).

ferrable aspect of language that does not necessarily involve direct contact among speakers of different languages. Instead, identifying aberrant grammatical constructions—which could indicate difficulties in adapting the target language—becomes one of the possible focuses of study. In this sense, the linguistic strategies adopted by each language to represent possessive structures do not appear completely equivalent in the bilingual and, although successful in terms of transmitting the general sense, their analysis may shed some light on interference aspects.

> *ZNH PRBRH ʾḤR ZY MNY BR KMLY SRWKYʾ*
> "This tomb here of Manes, son of Kumli, the Sirukean(s)?" (KAI 260:3–4)

> *ak=ad Manelid Kumlilid Šilukalid*
> "This tomb of Manes, son of Kumli, (son?) of Šiluka" (LW 1:4)

Lydian employs the relational suffix *-li-* to build adjectival patronymics and to mark noun possession, as exemplified by *=ad Manelid Kumlilid Šilukalid* (LW 1:3, "this tomb (lin. 1 *mrud*) of *Mane*, son of *Kumli*, (son?) of *Siluka*"). In Aramaic, the patronymic is built through the adposition of *br* and a personal name, as in *BR KMLY* (KAI 260:4, "son of *Kumli*"), whereas possession appears here marked by means of a *zy-* construction, which expresses the relation between two nouns; hence *ZNH PRBRH ʾḤR ZY MNY* (KAI 260:3–4, "this tomb here of *Manes*"). The final *-y* in the author's name and filiation (Aram. *MNY*, *KMLY*) is apparently functioning as a *mater lectionis*, marking the vowel of the stem (Lyd. *Mane-*, *Kumli-*).[16] The inflection of the third onomastic element (*Sir/luka-*) responds in Aramaic to a masc. sg./pl. ethnonym (Aram. *SRWKYʾ* "the Sirukean(s)"), whereas in Lydian it is inflected under the appearance of a patronymic or a possessive adjective, in agreement with the precedent names (*Manelid Kumlilid Šilukalid*). The unambiguous grammatical character of Aram. *-yʾ* in this context would indicate the genuine will to express the gentilic in the two languages, whereas the Lydian *-li-* derivation may indicate hesitation on the part of the scribe to reflect this sense in Lydian, which is expressed through the suff. *-mš-* (**-mv-ši-*) in the same inscription (see below). The fact that *Šir/luka-* was added later to the inscription, perhaps by a second scribe's hand, may be the cause of this incongruity (on the phonetic adaptation, see above 2.1.4).

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16   Final *-y* may mark long vowels /ē/ and /ī/ (Folmer 2012:131).

ʾRTMW ZY KLW ʾPŠŠY
"Artemis of Coloe/the Coloeans (and) Ephesus/the Ephesians" (KAI 260:6–7)

Artimus ipsimšiš Artimu=k kulumšiš
"Artemis Ephesian/of the Ephesians and Artemis Coloean/of the Coloeans" (LW 1:7–8)

The syntagm containing the punitive agent of the curse formula (KAI 260:6–7/ LW 1:7–8) differs slightly in the two languages. Whereas Lydian twice presents Artemis and her gentilics (*Artimus ipsimšiš Artimu=k kulumšiš*), Aramaic shows a simplified version that mentions Artemis only once and that changes the order of the toponyms/gentilics (*ʾRTMW ZY KLW ʾPŠŠY*). The possessive construction of the Aramaic version is built on a *zy-* analytic expression marking a relation of origin (Folmer 1995:320), in which the absence of a coordinative conjunction between the toponyms/gentilics Coloe and Ephesus (*ZY KLW ʾPŠŠY*) is difficult to justify but may be caused by a lack of understanding of the Lydian enclitic copulative conjunction.[17]

The problematic question lies in the grammatical analysis of *ʾPŠŠY*, which, according to Donner and Röllig (1964:308), would be a masc. pl. gentilic ("of the Ephesians"), an idea reformulated by Lipiński (1975:170), who analyzed it as the *-ê-* ending of masc. pl. emphatic state.[18] Later, Dupont and Sommer (1979:145) compared the endings of *ʾPŠŠY* and *KBYDŠY* (Letoon trilingual, Lycia), where *-šy* would be due to an influence of the autochthonous Anatolian languages (Lydian, and Lycian or Carian). Recently, Vernet (2021a:89 fn. 23) has proposed segmenting the endings as *KBYD-š-Y* and *ʾPŠŠ-Y*, being *-y* the Aramaic gentilic. However, in the absence of the regular genitilic form *-yʾ*, we could also assume that *-y* is here a *mater lectionis* indicating the vowel of the stem (Lyd. **Ipsi-* 'Ephesus'; cf. Lyd./Aram. *Mane-*/*MNY* and *Kumli*/*KMLY*), and thus a toponym (with Lemaire 2000), which is in agreement with the precedent mention of Coloe with a *zy-* analytic expression.

Lydian is not particularly illuminating in ascertaining the expression due to the difficulties in analyzing the morphology of the nouns. Both *ipsimšiš* and *kulumšiš* present a derivation without parallels at the moment, which is com-

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17   Donner and Röllig (KAI 260) as well as Folmer (1995:446) erroneously reconstruct the passage with a coordinative conjunction between *KLW* and *wʾʾpŠŠY*.

18   The idea of interpreting a gentilic seems to derive from a denomination found in the New Testament that is generally quoted (Donner and Röllig 1964:308; Gusmani 1964:130), where the expression appears as "Artemis of the Ephesians" (Gr. Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων, *Act. Ap.* 19.28).

posed by an ethnic *-mv-* suffix and a *-ši-* possessive adjectival suffix (Gérard 2005:128).[19] This means that Aramaic may have faced difficulties in reconciling its strategy of marking together a relation of origin and the gentilic with the synthetic double suffix formation of Lydian. Furthermore, the adposition of the two names in the Aramaic version could respond to a hesitation in including the same goddess under two different place apostasies, while Lydian emphasizes the representation of two different divinities.

Some tentative aspects of grammatical interference can be inferred from these passages. First, the unequivocal grammatical character of Aram. *-y'* as a masc. gentilic in *SRWKY'* (KAI 260:4,) may indicate an interference from Aramaic to Lydian in attempting to adapt a toponym into a gentilic by using a Lydian derivation in *-li-* (Lyd. *Šilukalid*) that corresponds primarily to patronymics and possession, instead of resorting to an *-mv-ši-*suffix. However, a second scribe's hand may have been behind the later addition of *Sir/luka-*. Second, our problems in interpreting what is a genuine gentilic construction in Lydian, as can be drawn from the attestations, becomes the main impediment to understanding the direction of the interference in the passage mentioning Artemis. At first glance, Aramaic appears to have adapted the Lydian synthetic gentilic possessive derivation (*-mv-ši-*) into an analytic construction by means of a plain *zy-* possessive construction, followed by a toponym to indicate origin (*'RTMW ZY KLW*), to which the toponym *'PŠŠY* would be juxtaposed. However, the possibility of interpreting them as gentilics cannot be discarded.

5   Concluding Remarks

Lydian is often compared with Lycian as an indicator of Iranization during Achaemenid times. In spite of the almost inexistent borrowings related to the rulership and administration of the Achaemenid power, or the limited presence of Iranian names among the local population, one must agree with Hajnal (2021:163) that an Iranian component had to be involved in the everyday life of Sardis (cf. *Mitridašta*, son of *Mitrata* operating as a Lydian priest, LW 23).

To address the initial questions of this chapter: (1) the alleged strong Iranization of the population, as perceived through the Greek onomastics of Anatolia,

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19   Only one other gentilic is attested, presenting the denominative suff. **-nt-*, *sfardẽti-* (LW 203, Gérard 2005:89, 129). In Lydian, we can count three occasions where Artemis is determined by a gentilic inflected in genitive plural (LW 2:10 *ipsimvav* "of the Ephesians," LW 2:10 *kulumva(v)* "of the Coloeans," and LW 19:11 *sfarda(v)* "of the Sardians"), rather than by the double suffixation seen in the bilingual (*-mv-* and *-ši-*).

still faces the problem of the correct chronological separation of the epigraphical sources, such that this phenomenon cannot be attributed exclusively to Achaemenid times with certainty; and (2) the intermediary role of Anatolian languages (in this case, Lydian) in the transmission of Iranian names into Greek shows that, through the presence of Hellenized forms in Lydian, an interference from Greek into Lydian may have existed with respect to Iranian material as well.

Linguistic Contact in the Anatolian Iron Age: The Phrygian Data

Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach

1   Introduction: Phrygian, the Balkan Language in Central Anatolia

Linguistic research has confirmed the ancient accounts on Phrygian migration from the Balkans to the central Anatolia milieu (e.g., Herodotus 6.45 and Strabo 7.3)[1] as Phrygian is the language closest to Greek (Obrador-Cursach 2019b). However, we do not know when such migration occurred. As incomers, the Phrygians' language likely experienced significant interaction with the local population, although the fragmentary nature of the Phrygian documentation, as well as of the other languages attested in Anatolia during the Iron Age (with the sole exclusion of Greek), complicates the traces of such contacts. A second difficulty is the ongoing decipherments of Phrygian itself and its surrounding Anatolian languages, especially Lydian and Pisidian.[2] Thus, it is easier to be sure about contacts concerning Greek than others.

The main purpose of this chapter is to provide an account of the evidence for linguistic contacts concerning Phrygian, focusing on the Old Phrygian sub-corpus. The inscriptions of this period are written in the Phrygian alphabet and are dated between ca. 800 and 330 BCE (the Macedonian conquest). At present there are 410 known inscriptions of Old Phrygian (and some coins previously unknown, which are found across a vast area of central Anatolia (Fig. 8.1). Although there are isolated findings (e.g., the bronze bowls found in the Tumulus D of Bayındır, eastern Lycia), most of the inscriptions are found between the cities of Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Kerkenes Dağ, but Gordion, the royal seat of the most influential Phrygian dynasty, is the epigraphic hotspot for this period. In order to be as exhaustive as possible, relevant data from three additional stages of the Phrygian language will be also considered, namely Middle

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1   For an updated overview of the Phrygian history, see Thonemann 2013.

2   Despite the proximity of Phrygian and Pisidian and the fact that they are the sole directly attested languages from Anatolia in the Roman Imperial period, no evidence of linguistic contact has yet been identified for them. Note, however, that the Pisidian corpus is restricted to few inscriptions, most of them containing only onomastic material.
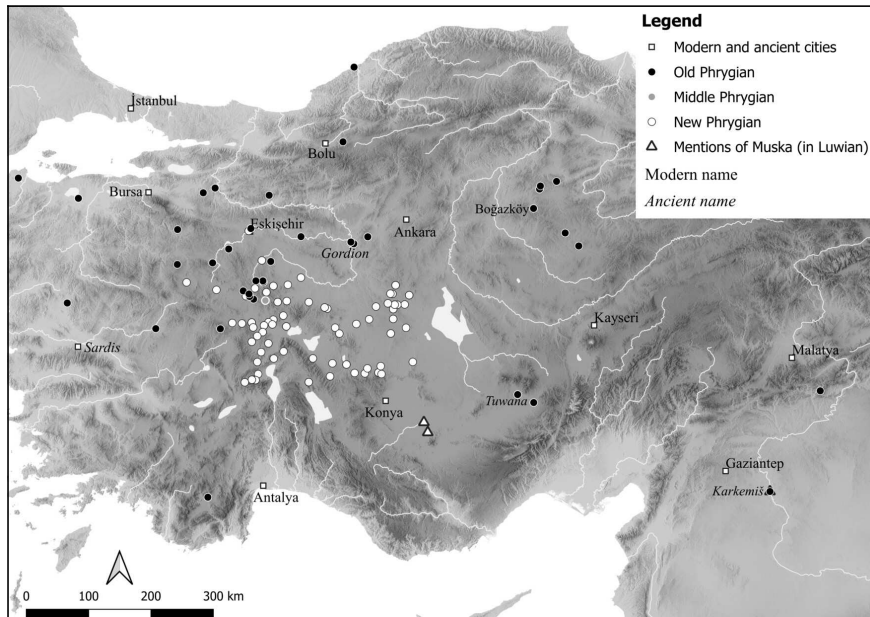
FIG. 8.1   Distribution of Old, Middle and New Phrygian inscriptions

Phrygian, the early Phrygian inscriptions written in the Greek alphabet during the Hellenistic Period (mainly established for the importance of the epitaph from Dokimeion MPhr-01 = W-11), and New Phrygian. These latter inscriptions are dated between the first and third centuries BCE, were written in the Greek alphabet, and consist mainly of a formulaic curse attached to a Greek epitaph.[3]

2   Lexical Borrowings Concerning Phrygian

2.1   *Lexical Borrowings between Anatolian and Phrygian*

Even though the Phrygians occupied the historical territories of the Hittites, and Old Phrygian inscriptions even appear in ancient Hattuša,[4] we have no idea

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3   This work is a reappraisal of the available material after the chapter devoted to Phrygian in contact in Obrador-Cursach 2020a:127–153. Note, however, that the focus of this paper is more specific and I leave aside here onomastic data due to the special nature and transmission of such material. The enumeration and readings of the Phrygian inscriptions are given according to Obrador-Cursach 2020a, which follows CIPPh and its supplements for the Old Phrygian inscriptions (transcribed in the Latin alphabet) but establishes a new enumeration for the Middle and New Phrygian inscription (given in a standardized Greek alphabet) followed by the traditional one.

4   The inscriptions P-102 to P-108 were found in this area. Very significant is the inscription

whether Phrygian and Hittite were once in contact. The living status of the Hittite language at the end of the Hittite documentation remains unclear and, as described before, we do not know when the Phrygians crossed the Bosporus or the Dardanelles. Lexicon is the only sphere where the possibility of such contact has been suggested. However, the adduced borrowings are reduced to four problematic words.

According to Orel (1997:453), *ploṛia* (G-132) is a borrowing from Hittite *pulluriya-* 'vessel (for honey and milk)' (KBo 5.1 ii 38). A first problem is that the segmentation of the Phrygian graffito on a pot where this word occurs is not clear. The inscription reads *ploṛiatạ*[---]. There are no parallels to suggest any segment, but a reading *ploṛia tạ*[---] is not incompatible with Phrygian morphology. The main problem is to assume syncope to obtain a formal comparison of a word without a clear meaning.

A second alleged word is New Phrygian σαυναμαν (acc.sg. 16.1 = 116), which Lubotsky (1993:132, followed by Gorbachov 2008:106 fn. 32) compared to Hittite *šā(m)mǎna-* 'foundation(s), foundation deposit.' Formal differences, however, are so strong as to warrant caution, because this implies a metathesis and the diphthongization *ā* > αυ. In addition, the precise meaning of Phrygian σαυναμαν is unknown, although it must be related to a part of the grave. Therefore, the connection remains unclear. Finally, Börker-Klähn (2000:90) suggested that the Hittite word *sikkanu-* 'sacred stone, baetilo' (of Semitic origin) was the origin of Phrygian *sikeneman* (M-01b) (also in Berndt and Ersöz 2006:72–74). Unfortunately, this Phrygian segment is easily explained as *si=keneman* "this niche," a demonstrative pronoun in agreement with a neuter noun. It may refer to the central niche found in the Midas Façade (first in Lubotsky 1988:15).

Finally, Gorbachov (2008:102–106) suggested that Phrygian *pupratoy* '?' (B-05) was a borrowing from "Hitt[ite] *paprezzi* or a closely related form" and translated it as "(he) defiles," following the Hittite meaning. His proposal had two problems. The reading of the first letter was not assured: against *pupratoy* read by Neumann (1997:25), Brixhe (2004:64) preferred a reading *ḍupratoy*. The first reading must be preferred, since *pupraγoy* occurs in the recently found inscriptions G-12 (Oreshko and Alagöz 2023:811–812). Even with the reading problem recently solved, the comparison between the Phrygian and the Hittite

P-05, written on an unfinished lion sculpture at Alaca Höyük: it dates back to imperial Hittite times but was reused in the Iron Age (Summers and Özen 2012:516). Note that nowadays it is believed that Hattuša was not abandoned after the fall of the Hittites (as was believed before), because archaeological data show occupation continuity from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (see Kealhofer et al. 2009).

word does not fit (see Simon 2015b:20–21, although his alternative is disputed in Obrador-Cursach 2020a:216).

Chronologically, contacts with Luwic dialects are more to be expected,[5] but again there are very few possible loanwords and they are no clearer. One candidate is *imroy* 'field (?)' (B-01, *o*-stem dat.sg.; Obrador-Cursach 2020a:254), a possible loanword from Luwic **imro-*, attested in Luwian *im(ma)ra/i-* 'open country' (HLuw. *i-mára/i* 'open country' and CLuw. *im(ma)ra/i-* 'open country,' attested in the gen.adj. stem *im(ma)rassa/i-*). A second proposal is ουταν 'punishment, spell' (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, etc.), which was considered to be a borrowing from Cuneiform Luwian *utar / utn-* 'word, spell' by Bayun and Orel (1989:32). Because the etymology of this Luwian word is the PIE root **u̯eth₂-* 'to say' (Kloekhorst EDHIL:932–933), no borrowing is needed, because Phrygian ουταν can go back to **uth₂-én-* (an oblique form). However, if inherited, it would be a major coincidence that such formation is found only in Hittite, Luwian, and Phrygian. A third candidate was suggested to be τεαμα(ς) (Obrador-Cursach 2018:117 and 289–290),[6] where a borrowing from Cuneiform Luwian *ti̯amm(i)-* 'earth' was considered. Nevertheless, a segmentation ατε-αμα(ς) is more likely according to Lubotsky (2020:517–518), who also connects it with ἀδάμας, αντος 'adamant, diamond.'

Lydian also offers some candidates to explain Phrygian words. The first is twofold: two New Phrygian words, μδυει (14.1 = 3) and μρο(ς) (29.1 = 114),[7] have been considered borrowings from Lydian *mruw(aa)-* 'stele.' Haas (1966:78) suggested this origin for μδυει. The precise meaning of the Phrygian word is unclear, but it must be a (part of the) funerary monument and the unique spelling ⟨μδ⟩ (if not a reading mistake) may indicate a loanword (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:296). However, the same Phrygian spelling is hardly compatible with Lydian ⟨mr⟩. Indeed, it is more conceivable, both phonetically and morphologically, that the Phrygian adaptation of *mruw(aa)-* is μρο(ς) (29.1 = 114,

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5 Phrygians are explicitly mentioned in Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions as Mus(a)ka: *muʾ-sà-ka-na*(REGIO) in KIZILDAǦ 4, § 2c and *mu-sà-ka* in TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, § 1, cf. Goedege-buure, et al. 2020, 32). Note that Neo-Assyrian sources use the ethnic *Muški* (see Kopanias 2015). On the alleged identification of Luwian *pa+ra/i-zu-taₓ* (TOPADA §§ 3, 7, 13, 23, 26) with the Phrygian, see now the dismissal by Simon 2022a:157–159.

6 The word occurs in eight New Phrygians imprecations with some differences: τεαμας (25.1 = 115), τιαμας (9.1 = 87), ατεαμα (6.2 = 131), ατεαμας (10.1 = 112), ατεαμ[ας] (40.4 = 102), ⟨αδ⟩ ατε-αμας (7.3 = 14), ατεαμαις (15.1 = 120), ατιαμα (11.2 = 18, this reading and context are not at all clear). Leaving aside the last inscription, this noun always occurs in imprecative protasis, so it is likely to be a part of the funerary monument.

7 As in the case of ατεαμα(ς), both words are expected to be a part of the funerary monument because they occur in protasis of the Phrygian curses.

Obrador-Cursach 2020a:305), a word also found in a place where a part of the funerary monument is expected.

A second possible Lydian borrowing is *ạsenạn* (B-05), connected to Lydian *asina-* '(part of) grave' (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:184).[8] Note that the Old Phrygian word does not occur in a funerary context but rather in that of a shrine, which could share an architectonical element. Finally, Orel (1997:310, 461) suggested that Old Phrygian *tesan* (T-02b) was a borrowing from *tasa/e-* 'statue (?)'; however, the meaning of the Phrygian word remains unclear, and it could be analyzed as *t=esan* 'this' (feminine accusative singular with an emphatic proclitic, cf. the dative singular W-01b *esai=t*).

The existence of Phrygian borrowings in the Anatolian languages is still more problematic. As far as I know, only one word in the Anatolian corpora has been suggested to have a Phrygian origin. Bayun (1992) considered that Phrygian *iman* 'shrine' (which she equated etymologically to Hittite *ḫimma-* 'cultic object') was the source for the Hieroglyphic Luwian verb (*anta*) *imani-* (*ti*), which she considered to mean *'substitute' > 'usurp,' but now it is translated as 'to topple' (eDiAna s.v.; see also Gorbachov 2008:98–99).

One could also entertain the possibility that Neo-Hittite *gurta-* 'city, town' is a borrowing from Phrygian *gordo-* 'fortress, town' (attested only in toponyms; see Obrador-Cursach 2019a:545–547). However, Simon (2016b:195–197) dismissed this possibility and considers *gurta-* to be in fact a Luwian word inherited from PIE *$k^w\underset{.}{r}$-tó-*, a participle of *k^wer-* 'cut off, carve' (LIV² 391).[9]

2.2   *Lexical Borrowings between Phrygian and Greek*

Contacts between Phrygian and Greek are the most attested and, as will be seen, the lexicon of both languages provides lists of assured borrowings, although in the Iron Age this is problematic. Of course, our extensive understanding is attributable to the good transmission and preservation of Ancient Greek records and the Hellenization of Phrygia. After the Macedonian conquest and the expansion of Greek, Phrygian became a minoritized language before its

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8 Previously, Brixhe (2004:62) suggested that *as enạn* is a preposition followed by a pronoun inherited from PIE *h_1eno-* (in acc.sg. fem.) and equated this Phrygian phrase to the Greek εἰς ἔνην "the day after tomorrow" (where ἡμέραν 'day' is elided). More recently, Hämmig (2013:147–149) considered a meaning similar to κακουν 'harm' because of its position in an imperative protasis.

9 Note, however, that Simon (2017c) argued that *Kurti* (spelled *ku+ra/i-ti-sa* in Hieroglyphic Luwian) was a Phrygian name in origin, the same found in Greek as Γορδίας, Γορδίος. More recently, he also suggested that Luwian *Sipi* (*si-pi-sa* in KARABURUN) is another Phrygian name. In the same paper, Simon also discusses other alleged Luwian names with the same origin (2022a:159–162).

vanishing about the 4th century BCE and one could prejudge one-way borrowings from Greek to Phrygian. However, there are also borrowings from Phrygian to Greek. Before displaying the available material, it should be highlighted that Phrygian is the language closest to Greek in dialectal terms (Obrador-Cursach 2019b), and the similarity between both languages sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish cognates from borrowings.

2.2.1 Greek Borrowings in Old Phrygian

The earliest Greek borrowings detected in Phrygian are titles of rulers. We do not know what the Phrygian called their monarchs and rulers before the successive conquests of Phrygia; however, in west Phrygia, between Lydian hegemony and the beginning of the Achaemenid period (first half of the 6th century BCE),[10] words with Greek relation appear to have been used. In the most famous Old Phrygian inscription M-01a, Midas is called *lavagtaei* and *vanaktei* (both in dative). Both words have been correctly compared, respectively, to the Mycenaean titles *ra-wa-ke-ta* /lawagetas/ 'leader of the people' (DMic. II 230–231, alphabetic Greek λαγέτας, α) and *wa-na-ka* /wanaks/ (DMic. II 400–401, alphabetic Greek (ϝ)άναξ, (ϝ)άνακτος 'lord, ruler, master'). Because of the Phrygian devoicing, *lavagtaei* must be a borrowing from Greek, because it is a compound of ἄγω (< PIE *$h_2eǵ$- 'to drive'). Since a form *lavagetai* could be expected, Lubotsky (1988:18) interpreted that as suggesting a borrowing from the Gr. nominative /lāwāgetās/ token as *s*-stem, where the *-s* in intervocalic position dropped: *laųagetasei > lavagtaei, but *a*-stems are rendered as such in Phrygian (cf. Greek *-δμᾱ > New Phrygian ακρο-δμαν 16.1 = 116, accusative singular, and ἀνάγκα > ανανκαι) and the persistence of a voiceless stop in contact with a voiced one remains unappealing. Although it is not an ideal solution when working with fragmentary languages, an engraver mistake cannot be ruled out for an expected form *lavagetai. Leaving aside these details, it is very likely that Phrygian *vanak(t)-* is also a Greek borrowing, although the origin of Greek (ϝ)άναξ is unclear and a common substrate certainly cannot be ruled out due to the lack of any feature incompatible with Phrygian. A challenging question is when these two words were borrowed into Phrygian. It has been suggested that Phrygian retained the Mycenaean titles; however, this is highly unlikely. It must be noted that neither term ever refers to the same person in Mycenaean; moreover, the Phrygian words occur in a western inscription that presumably

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10   I follow here the later date for the rock-cut façades given by Berndt-Ersöz (2006), recently reinforced by Summers with new arguments (2023b). However, one must consider the arguments by Rose (2021) for an earlier date of such monument (8th century BCE according to him).

postdates any Phrygian monarchy (second quarter of the 6th BCE) and that shows at least another Greek influence in the personal name Ἀρχίας found in patronymic *arkievais*. The words could have been borrowed into Phrygian at any moment before the classical period (Pindar still uses the title λαγέτας, *Ol.* 1.89). Note that in some dialects, the sound /w/ lasts longer than in Attic and Ionian. As such, one can be skeptical about the antiquity of such nouns in Phrygian, and in the case of the inscription M-01a, Midas's titles can be considered a recreation of a member of the local elite[11] interested in connecting themselves to one of the ancient Phrygian kings, who were said to spread the Mother Goddess worship.

The title *kuryaneyon* 'ruler' (W-01c) was suggested by Ligorio and Lubotsky (2018:1820) to be a borrowing from Mycenaean too. They are totally correct in comparing this word to the Greek present participle κοιρανέων, but the verb κοιρανέω 'to be lord' remains unattested in Mycenaean. They assume this origin only because of the lack of the metathesis *ry* > *yr* in the Phrygian form, a Mycenaean preservation not shared with the alphabetic Greek. Nevertheless, nothing precludes a cognate of the Greek form, although it would be the first denominative verb in -*eyo*- attested in Phrygian.

Finally, the inscription B-07 has the sequence *sṭaḷʾa* (B-06), considered a borrowing from Greek στήλη 'stele.' In fact, Vassileva (1995:28–29) suggested a borrowing from the Dorian variant στάλα, which does not fit historically. The Aeolian form, στάλλα, may be a better source (see also Artemis's epithet *kṛaniẏas* in B-05, perhaps from κράννα 'spring, fountain,' Obrador-Cursach 2020a:279),[12] but the status of the Phrygian *sṭaḷʾa* must be confirmed after a revision of the inscription B-06.

The remaining Greek borrowings in Phrygian occur in New Phrygian inscriptions and may be entered in the post-Classical period (with the sole exception of σορο-). Some of them are parts of a grave: ακροδμαν (16.1 = 116 cf. μεσό-δμη 'crossbeam,' Brixhe and Neumann 1985:172), θαλαμειδη 'funerary chamber' (18.1 = 4, dat.sg., from Gr. θαλαμίς, ίδος, used with the meaning 'grave' in the Greek part of New Phrygian 25.1 = 115), λατομειον (11.2 = 18, from Greek λατομεῖον 'stonequarry,' following Woodhouse 2006:182, used with the meaning 'grave,' at least in inscriptions from Perinthos; see Robert 1974:238–239), and σορο- (σοροι MPhr-

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11   Namely, *ates arkiaevais akenanogavos* "Ates (the son) of Arkhias, the holder of the *akenan*," as incised in M-01a.

12   In inscriptions from the Roman Imperial period, the Mother Goddess is called Κρανομε-γαληνή (CIG 4121), ἀπὸ κρανὸς μεγάλη (MAMA V Lists I(i):182, 79) and ἀπὸ κρανοσμεγάλου (MAMA V 8, MAMA V 9 and, likely, Drew-Bear 1978:52, 30). See Obrador-Cursach 2022:120 and 136–139.

01 = W-11 and σορου 65.3 = 21, 65.4 = 124, from Greek σορός, ου 'cinerary urn,' Brixhe 2002:258). The status of χορο- (χορου 27.1 = 92, dat.sg.) as a borrowing from Greek χῶρος 'a definite space, piece of ground' is not clear after the identification of the stem κουρο- 'boy' in Phrygian (see § 2.2.2.). Other, clearer Greek borrowings are: ανανκαι (62.4 = 35, ἀνάγκη 'force, constraint, necessity'), αωρω (6.1 = 88, from Greek ἄωρος, ον 'untimely, unseasonable'), ειλικρινη (2.2 = 130 is from Greek εἰλικρινής, ές 'unmixed, without alloy, pure'; see Avram 2015:212), ζως (43.1 = 69, very likely a borrowing from ζώς 'alive, living'), as well as the pronouns τις (28.1 = 71) and τι (30.1 = 39, from τις, τι 'any one, anything,' used instead of the Phrygian cognate *ki-).

2.2.2   Phrygian Borrowings in Greek

As stated above, we know of some Phrygian words borrowed into Greek. The clearest examples are those attested within the Phrygian corpus: βέκος, ους, το 'bread' (Hipponax Frgm. 82; the noun is glossed by Herodotus 2.2 in his famous Psammetichus experiment) from βεκος (attested several times in New Phrygian; Obrador-Cursach 2020a:196), βεῦδος, εος, τό 'woman's dress, statue' from Old Phrygian *bevdos* 'statue' (B-05, identified by Lubotsky 2008),[13] γλουρός, οῦ, ὁ 'gold' (Besanthius, AP 15.25, 7) from Phrygian γλουρο- (found in the adjective γλουρεος, MPhr-01 = W-11), and δοῦμος, ου, ὁ 'religious association' (Hipponax Frgm. 30) from *dum-* 'id.' (*duman* B-01, sg.acc., and δουμε 1.1. = 48, dat.sg.).

The Phrygian origin of other words is more problematic. The first is Κορύβαν-τες 'Corybant, priest of Cybele in Phrygia.' After the identification of the stem *koru-* 'boy' in Phrygian (acc.sg. κοροαν and κοροος, gen.sg., both in MPhr-01; perhaps in its possible New Phrygian derivatives κοροκα 'offspring' and κορο[υ]μανη '?' 2.2 = 130), this Greek word can be considered a Phrygian compound of *koru-* and the present participle of *b^heh_2- 'to shine' (LIV² 68–69) or 'to speak' (LIV² 69–70). It appears to be a formation similar to Greek συκοφάντης 'common informer, voluntary denouncer' and ἱεροφάντης 'one who teaches rites of sacrifice and worship.' The original meaning of this possible Phrygian formation cannot be fixed because of our poor knowledge of the Phrygian religion.

One cannot be so optimistic about the Phrygian origin of Greek ἄκολος 'bit, morsel,' sometimes compared to New Phrygian ακκαλος (53.1 = 76, 62.2 = 33, and 54.1 = 108). The vocalism of both words is not consistent, and a third common source for both words cannot be excluded (on a possible Neo-Assyrian origin, see § 2.3).

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13   The word, first used in Greek by Sappho (Frgm. 115), is also found in some toponyms (KON §149).

The word βέν(ν)ος, εος, τό 'cultic association' evinces another kind of problem: it never occurs within the Phrygian corpus (its relationship with Old Phrygian *benagonos* G-116 is unclear), but rather in Greek inscriptions from central Anatolia during the Roman period. It could be considered a Phrygian formation derived from the *b^hend^h-* 'to tie' with the meaning of 'the league' or similar. Similarly, the word βαλ(λ)ήν 'king' admits a Phrygian analysis from *$b^h\mathring{l}h_2$-* 'white' (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:416). It occurs in toponyms from Phrygia, but it is not attested in the Phrygian corpus and a Semitic origin cannot be totally excluded.

Finally, there is a word that is neither Phrygian nor in Phrygia, but which may be connected with Phrygian through phonetics. Indeed, κῖκυς 'strength, vigor' may be a derivative from PIE *g^wih_3-* 'to live, live,' *$g^wih_3g^{(w)}u$-* (Mihaylova 2016:321), which absolutely fits Phrygian historical phonetics (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:137). Of course, neither assumption (the IE etymology and the connection with Phrygian) can be corroborated at all—at least, not without a Phrygian occurrence—and the Old Phrygian personal name *kikos* (G-284) proves nothing.[14]

2.3 Other Loanwords Concerning Old Phrygian

The lexical influence of Old Persian, a clear consequence of the Achaemenid conquest (550 BCE), is restricted to three nouns. After Lejeune (1969:293), it is generally assumed that Old Persian *baga-* 'god' is the origin of Old Phrygian *bagun* 'idol (?)' (G-136), very likely referring the little alabaster figure of a falcon (possibly a symbol of the later Zeus Bronton) where it occurs.[15] Also related to the religious sphere, the priest title *magus* occurs in Phrygian as *magọ[s]* (B-018, Obrador-Cursach 2020a:288).[16] Finally, in the clay tablet from Persepolis, HP-114, the Persian month *Anāmaka-* (from Elamite *Ḫanāmakaš*) occurs as *aṇamakạ* (Brixhe 2004:125).[17]

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14 Some Phrygian words can be found in toponyms and divine epithets attested mainly in Roman times. See Obrador-Cursach 2022:116–124, 127–128.

15 The inscription of the statuette contains the name *iman*, which also occurs with the representation of the same animal in one of the recently identified coin series with a Phrygian legend (Adiego and Obrador-Cursach 2021:110–112).

16 In the inscription B-108 (6th–5th century BCE), it is the title of a man called *saragis*. It is worth mentioning that in the later Greek–Aramaic bilingual inscription from Faraşa, a man called Σαγάριος / SGR (very likely the same) became "magus of Mithra."

17 Although personal names are not considered in this work, it is worth noting here that some Iranian personal names have been identified in Phrygian. Old Phrygian 𐊲*una*𐊲*aros* (G-115) renders the Median name *$^hUvaxštra$* (cf. Ionian Κυαξάρης in Herodotus 1.73, cf. Schmitt 1982a:27), while *parsaparnas* (read in a recently found inscription from Gordion)

Northwest Semitic *šQL* 'weight' (Aramaic and Phoenician) is the source of Phrygian *sekel* (in fact, *se∀sel* Obrador-Cursach 2020a:343),[18] a word also found in Greek σίκλος, σίγλος 'weight, shekel' and, perhaps through Greek, in Lycian *siχla-* 'shekel, drachma.' Finally, Neo-Assyrian *akalu* 'bread, food' may be the origin of New Phrygian ακκαλος (53.1 = 76, 54.1 = 108, 62.2 = 33, pl. ακαλα 4.1 = 2) in the formula βεκος ακκαλος, but it is not at all clear what it means.

3   Phonetic Influences Concerning Phrygian

3.1   *Phonetic Influences of the Anatolian Languages on Phrygian*

The clearest influence of Anatolian on Phrygian phonetics is found in the eastern form *memeuis* (T-02b, found at Tuwana)[19] instead of the western *memevais* (M-01b and M-02, from the so-called Midas City). Both forms document for Phrygian the common Anatolian shift *$*wa > u$ (Rieken 2001).[20] The parallel Anatolian shift *ya > i* is also possible for Phrygian in light of the relation of Neo-Assyrian *Gurdîs* with Γορδίας (Obrador-Cursach 2019a:549), but one must approach this cautiously because we are dealing with indirect material.

It remains a pure speculation as to whether the devoicing of the stops in Phrygian has to do with the Anatolian context, where some languages lack

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goes back to Persian **Parsa-farnah* 'Glory of the Persians' (Adiego in personal communication, 8/08/2022), as suggested by Schmitt (2011:296–297) for Greek Πασιφέρνης. Schmitt (1982a:35, following a prior proposal by Lejeune) considered Old Phrygian *asakas* (G-150c) an Old Persian name (also found in Elamite as *Áš-šá-ka₄*) deriving from **asa-* 'horse.' I suggested that *manuka* (B-07) is the personal name found as *Manukka* in the administrative clay tablets from Persepolis (on this name, see Mayrhofer 1973:189). In addition, New Phrygian μιτραφατα (1.1 = 48) goes back to **Miϑrapāta-* 'protected by Mithra' (with hypercorrection in the use of Greek aspirated), also found in Lycian as *miϑrapata, mizrppata* and *mizrapata* (see Adiego 2020c) and in Greek as Μιτροβάτης (Herodotus 3.120–129) and Μιθρωπάστης (Strabo 16.5; note that both variants refer to the same satrap of Hellespontic Phrygia).

18   The interpretation of *se∀el tias* (G-248, dating to ca. 800 BCE), as 'weight of Tieion' has been reinforced after the find of Old Phrygian graffiti in the acropolis of this coastal city (B-109 and, if Phrygian, B-110; Yıldırım 2021:419).

19   The fragmentation of Phrygian inscriptions engraved on the steles of Neo-Assyrian style found in this relevant Luwian capital (T-01, T-02 and T-03) do not allow interpreting the historical and socio-linguistic context of such a singular finding. In any case, the Old Phrygian texts from Tuwana appear to concern Midas's campaigns against the hegemony of Sargon II in the region because they may date to the last quarter of the 8th century BCE (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:16).

20   See also Old Phrygian *urunis* (G-346), a Luwian personal name (originally an ethnic) attested in Hittite as ᵐ*Urawanni* (KBo 5.6 i 32).

voiced stops. The same can be suspected for the deaspiration. Unfortunately, we do not know when and where both processes occurred, and we know only that the devoicing was earlier than the deaspiration because the outcomes of the last shift were not affected by the former. In any case, if it is not an inner development, the Anatolian scenario is preferred to that of the Balkans and is, at least, more likely than assuming a Proto-Anatolian influence while its speakers were crossing the Balkans on their way to Anatolia, as suggested by Kortlandt (2016:250).

Recently, Šorgo (2019:129–131) called attention to the fact that three developments from Old Phrygian to New Phrygian are shared with Lycian and "are thus indicative of a sustained contact between the two languages or at least of their belonging to a common language area" (Šorgo 2019:131). However, some remarks can be made about each feature, leaving aside the fact that between both languages we have extensive territories without linguistic information or problematic data (such as the Kybiratis). The first observation is "the formation of geminates through assimilation," which is too universal a shift to be considered strong without more shared features. The second is the "the reduction of permissible codas," which is also found in Luwian (Melchert 1994:248). Finally, "the emergence of nasal vowels from final -*vn#* sequences with an accompanying change in vowel quality" (Šorgo 2019:131) is far from being a clear shift. The existence of the nasalized vowels in Phrygian, as found at least in Lycian and Lydian (also considered in the suggested area by Šorgo 2019:133), is not at all assured. Šorgo (2019:120–121) adduced this feature mainly in the light of the variations σεμιν (53.1 = 76, 59.1 = 107, 61.1 = 100), κακεν (3.1 = 97, 17.6 = 119, 24.1 = 40), κακευν (41.1 = 45), and κακε (6.1 = 88, 7.1 = 99, 65.3 = 21, 65.4 = 124) instead of the most common σεμ(ο)(υ)ν and κακ(ο)(υ)ν. Although the variation of these forms is a fact, his analyses are not properly made. First of all, the alternation between σεμουν (also σεμον and σεμυν) and σεμιν can easily be explained by the influence of Greek in the Imperial times, that is, as a mere confusion of /uː/ and /u/ with /i/ (itacism). The form κακευν (41.1 = 45), instead of the expected κακουν, could be a reading or engraver error of round signs (the reading cannot be corroborated because the inscription is lost, but see Brixhe 1999b:293–295) and cannot be used for our purposes. The other forms, however, are no better points to defend a nasal raising of mid vowels. Indeed, κακεν and κακε (also κακην 2.2 = 130 and κακιν 7.3 = 14) are not variants of κακ(ο)(υ)ν 'harm' but rather an adverb in *-*eh₁* (ancient singular instrumental ending) derived from this noun,[21] which also occurs in Old Phrygian as *kakey* (B-05), without

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21   For this kind of formation, see the common Latin adverbs in -*ē* (or -*ĕ* after Iambic shorten-

phonetic problems.[22] We have two variants of the common New Phrygian formula, namely the noun κακουν and with the adverb κακε (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:264–265). Compare ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδακετ (9.1 = 87) with ιος νι σεμον κνουμανει κακε αδακετ (7.1 = 99) and them also with the Greek imprecations from Phrygia τίς ἂν δὲ τούτω τῶ μνημείω κακὸν προσπ[οι]ή|σει "who(ever) makes harm to this tomb" (ΜΑΜΑ IV 27) and ὃς ἂν τούτῳ τῷ μνημείῳ κακῶς προσποιήσει 'id.' (read in the Greek part of New Phrygian 19.1 = 96), where the adverb κακῶς occurs in place of the noun κακόν.

In light of the above-mentioned argumentation, and armed with current knowledge of both languages, it is difficult to defend a linguistic area for Phrygian and Lycian. Moreover, the only feature shared by Phrygian and Lycian (not shared with Lycian B) that could be considered areal is the aspiration of *s-, as suggested by Gusmani (1959:13–14). Again, however, it is an extremely universal shift to defend the idea of a Phrygio-Lycian area.

3.2   *Possible Areal Features Shared by Phrygian with Greek*

Brixhe (first in 1990:65–67, also in 2004:77–78) suggested the existence of the shift *-ans, -ois > -ais, -ois in Phrygian parallel to that found in Aeolian. His observation explains the presence of nominatives in -ais (*arkievais* M-01a, *kanutieivais* P-03, sg.gn. *kanutiiʔevanoṣʔ* P-02, and *memevais* M-01b), which goes back to the suffix *-vant- (see Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018:1820 and Obrador-Cursach 2020a:83–84, considered patronymics). It also can be found in possible plural accusatives such as *ḫṛạṭeṛạis* B-04. Such a shift is so specific that it is highly likely that both processes, the Aeolian and the Phrygian, happened could evidence a linguistic area rather than a parallel innovation or shared inherited feature.

However, this assumption must be built on more features, and there is little that can be added. As Šorgo (2019:133) states, "there does not appear to have been any notable phonological influence of Greek on Phrygian up to the Hellenistic period." However, one wonders whether it is possible to find more shared features after the identification of such a strong innovation. It has been said above that Phrygian aspirated the ancient *s (with the sole exception of -s# and the problematic onsets #sC-) as did Lycian (A, not Lycian B) and later lost the resulting aspiration. In fact, the whole process (*s > *h *> ∅) is shared with Lesbian and Ionian, which were psilotic dialect-like.

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ing) derived from adjectives: *maximus* 'greatest' > *maximē* 'especially, very much,' *clarus* 'famous, clear' > *clarē* 'famously, clearly,' *pulcher* 'beautiful' > *pulchrē* 'beautifully,' etc.

22   Note that it also occurs in a protasis imprecation: *yos niy ạrt sin=t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey kạn dedạsitiy* … "Whoever does harmfully harms around this shrine …" (*vel sim.*).

A third possible areal feature is the shift *-m# > -n#*. The shift is general in Greek (like in the singular accusative ending, $*d^hh_1\text{-}tó\text{-}m > θετόν$) and it is also found in Phrygian ($*d^hh_1\text{-}tó\text{-}m > δετο(υ)ν$ MPhr-01) as well as in the Anatolian languages ("parallel but independent in Luvian, Palaic and Hittite," Melchert 1994:181). Nevertheless, it is weak evidence on its own, like the debuccalization of $*s$.

A fourth possible shared shift is $*\text{-}sm\text{-} > \text{-}mm\text{-}$. It occurs in Aeolian (compare ἔμμι "(I) am" instead of Ionian-Attic εἰμί /eːˈmi/ < $*h_1esmi$) and may occur in Phrygian in light of σεμουν < $*\hat{k}e\text{-}sm\bar{o}(i)\text{-}n$ (see Obrador-Cursach 2020a:89, summarizing Lejeune 1969:296 and Ligorio and Lubotsky 2018:1826; see also Lubotsky *apud* Šorgo 2019, 134 fn. 3). This shift, however, must be identified in other forms. A second possible example, *en* (Dd-103), tentatively suggested to go back to $*h_1esm(i)$ (Obrador-Cursach 2019c:212), must be cautiously taken (see below §7.2.).

Finally, one can add to the possible Greco-Phrygian area the vocalization of the ancient resonants. The Phrygian vocalization of $*\underset{\circ}{r}$ appears to be /ro/ in the light of μροτις (MPhr-01) and μροτιη (56.2 = 58), but as /or/ in final position in light of *por* (W-05b)? / πουρ (6.1 = 88), if both forms go back to PIE $*p\underset{\circ}{r}$ (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:69). There are no identified examples of $*\underset{\circ}{l}$, but $\underset{\circ}{m}$ and $\underset{\circ}{n}$ clearly develop a vowel /a/ in Phrygian: see, e.g., $*méh_2ter\underset{\circ}{m} > materan$ (M-01dI and W-01a), $*knuH\text{-}m\underset{\circ}{n} > κνουμαν$, and PIE $*bhréh_2ter\underset{\circ}{n}s > *braterans > \underset{\cdot}{b}rater\underset{\cdot}{a}is$ (B-04). The same distribution is found in Lesbian: $*st\underset{\circ}{r}to\text{-} > στρότον$ 'army' (Sappho Frgm. 27 D, instead of στρατός), $*s\underset{\circ}{m}\text{-} > ἀ\text{-}$ (as in ἄ-κοιτιν 'bedfellow, wife'), $*g\underset{\circ}{m}\text{-}o\text{-} > γάμον$ 'wedding,' $*\text{-}\underset{\circ}{m}s > \text{-}ans > \text{-}αις$ (acc.pl.), etc. There is one exception: $*t\underset{\circ}{m}\text{-}ont\text{-} > τόμοντες$ 'cutting' (aorist active participle, Alcaeus Frgm. 129).

As can be seen, there are two highly likely areal phonetic features shared by Phrygian and the Aeolic Greek dialect spoken in western Anatolia: the shift *-ans, -ois > -ais, -ois* and the distribution of the vocalization of the ancient resonants. If it is confirmed, there is another possible areal feature, $*\text{-}sm\text{-} > \text{-}mm\text{-}$, which also differentiates Aeolic from other Greek dialects shared with Phrygian, and one can also count here the shift $*s > *h > \varnothing$. Despite the open problems and the scarcity of identified features, the current material allows us to consider the possibility of a linguistic area participated in by Phrygian and Aeolic Greek to be confirmed in the future.

4   Morphological Influences?

There is little information regarding the morphological influences of any languages on Phrygian before the Hellenistic and Roman periods. As far as I know,

only one proposal currently involves Phrygian and the Anatolian languages. Brixhe has often claimed (first in 1983:128) that the hesitation of *-s* in the nominative of masculine personal names in Phrygian (cf. *ata* G-107, etc., instead of the expected *atas* G-128 or *voine* G-228 for *voines* G-129 and G-286) is a consequence of contact with the Anatolian languages because "as opposed to the masculine/feminine morphological contrast of Phrygian (with two forms), the Anatolian languages have only one common animate gender (with a unique form […]). This divergence would generate a Phrygian tendency to have a single ending for the names of both men and women, hence the wavering between these two categories" (2008:79).

The question is not so easy. It is a fact that Phrygian adds an *-s* ending to the masculine nominative in *-a* and *-ā* resulting from PIE *$-h_2$* (e.g., PIE *$mégh_2$* > Old Phrygian *mekas* 'big, great' M-05) and *-eh₂* (like in the ethnics *tias* G-249 and πουντας 1.1 = 48), respectively. The same process is found in Greek (cf., e.g., μέγας, νεανίας, μαθητής) but we do not know whether it is a genetic or areal feature. The origin of the personal names in *-e(s)* is less clear. Because of the abundance of Anatolian personal names in Phrygian and the existence of names shared with other languages, such as *manes* (also attested in Lydian *manes* and Carian *mane*) and its strange inflection, I considered the whole series as being not Phrygian in origin (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:82–83), but this may be incorrect. Some of these names admit a Phrygian analysis; at least *manes* and *bateles* (W-08) could be considered theophorics (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:146–157). For the former, a relation with the god Μας (1.1 = 48, very likely the Anatolian Greek Μήν, the Moon God) is morphologically and geographically very likely: its stem **man-* (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:293 and 2022:146–147) could be derived into a personal name through the suffix **-eh₁*, which adopts an ending *-s*, just like its Greek equivalent **-eh₁-s* > -ης (cf. Κράτης or Διομήδης). Also, *bateles* (W-08) can derive from a Phrygian god: *Bas* (1.1 = 48 etc., accusative *Batan* T-02).[23] If this is correct, the analysis is quite easy: a form *bat-elo-* (for the suffix, see **dʰǵ⁽ʰ⁾em-elo-* > **ǵʰem-elo-* > ζεμελο- 'man'), an adjective related to the god, becomes a personal name through the suffix *-es*. Also *tiyes* (M-04) may be added to this onomastic list, if it really derives from *Ti-* 'Zeus'. On the development of *-eh₁* in a simple *-e* instead of the expected *-ā* (**dʰeh₁-* > *daket* B-05 / αδ-δακ-ετ New

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23   On this god, see Obrador-Cursach 2017, who considers it an epiclesis of Zeus because in some New Phrygian imprecative formulae, this god alternates with Τιαν 'Zeus' (in acc.sg., we ignore its nominative) and in some Greek inscriptions dated to the Roman period, the syncretism between both gods is explicit under the name Διὶ Βατηνῷ 'Zeus Batenos' (always in dative, as in TAM V 1, 77).

Phrygian *passim*), one can adduce the prohibitive particle *meh_1 > *me* (B-05, B-07) / με (7.1 = 99, 7.2 = 111, etc.) and the adverbs *$-eh_1$ > *kakey* (B-05) / κακε (6.1 = 88, 7.1 = 99).

In any case, we must explain why Phrygian has a hesitation not found in the Greek equivalents. I think that two inner-Phrygian explanations can be given, which are methodologically preferable to the explanation of Anatolian influence. The addition of -*s* to the ancient forms in *$-eh_2$ and, possibly, *$-eh_1$ is a clear innovation, and the names without -*s* indicate that the prior stage coexisted with the new one, because onomastics is a good place for archaisms. Moreover, although Brixhe reports that the hesitation is also found in feminine names attested in Anatolia, it has not yet been identified within the Phrygian corpus and could be a later phenomenon. A second inner-Phrygian explanation can be a mere use of the vocative instead of the nominative. By its nature, the Phrygian corpus does not provide examples of vocative; however, the comparison with Greek allows us to assume that the Phrygian vocative of masculine names in -*as* was simply -*a* (cf. νεανία from νεανίας) and -*e* for the names in -*es* (cf. the Delphian [Π]ολυκράτη in SGDI II 2982 instead of Attic Πολύκρατες). It is true that vocative for nominative is a common occurrence in linguistic exchange, but it also occurs language-internally (Stifter 2013).

5   Syntactical Influences on Phrygian

As in the case of morphology, there are very few syntactical external influences identified in the Phrygian corpus before the Greek influences of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In the case of Anatolian language influences on Phrygian, one wonders whether the use of several kinds of possessive pronouns instead of genitives in regard to personal names has to do with this well-known phenomenon in the Anatolian languages other than Hittite (see Yakubovich 2008:194). It can be seen in *maneion en* "(I) am of Manes" (Dd-103, if the reading by Obrador-Cursach 2019c:210–211 is accepted, see §6),[24] and in the creation of patronymics in -(*e*)*yo*- like *tiveia imeneia* "Tiveia, Iman's daughter" (G-183b) and in -*evan*- like *arkiaevais* "Archias's son" (M-01a), *memevais* "Meme's son" (M-01b and M-02), and *ḳanutieivạis* (P-03). Compare it to, e.g., Hieroglyphic Luwian BOHÇA §1, EGO-*mi* [|?]*ku+ra/i-ti-i-sá* |*á-‹sa-hwa/i-si'-sa₄* |HEROS-*li-i-sa* |("INFANS")*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* "I (am) Kurti the son of the hero Ashwa," where

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24   It was previously read as *mane on : en*, where *on* and *en* were considered title abbreviations by Brixhe (2004:126–127). However, such abbreviations and the titles themselves are unparalleled.

á-‹sa-hwa/i-si'-sa₄ is a possessive adjective, and to Lydian LW 4a:1 *es asinas maneliš aluliš* "this is the *asina-* (part of grave) of Manes the son of Alus," where *maneliš aluliš* are possessive adjectives.

A second syntactical influence might be found in the use of the clitic =*s* attached to verbs and referring to a subject that is a preceding relative clause: MPhr-01 πεννιτι ιος κοροαν δετουν σουν ομαστα ομνισιτου=ς "who(ever) finds this buried boy, let him say prayers/oaths" (Obrador-Cursach 2020b) or 62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 36 ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακον αδδακετ […] αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτου=ς "whoever does harm to the tomb, let him, cursed by Bas, lack any children" (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:116–118). In fact, it is an alternative to correlative construction 'who(ever) … this one …' as found in Old Phrygian B-07 *yos … kos …* or in New Phrygian 6.2 (131) ιος … τος … Unlike the Anatolian languages, Phrygian lacks initial clitic chain.[25] However, we can see a similar phenomenon of a clitic referring to a subject defined in a preceding subordinative clause. See, for example KARKAMIŠ A3 line 4, *wa/i-sá* […] (LOQUI)*ta-tara/i-ia-mi-sa i-zi-ia-ru* "and let him be made accursed […]," where *wa/i-sá* contains the quotative particle -*wa* (normally preceded by the conjunction *a-*) and the 3sg. nominative common -*as* 'he.' Although Anatolian influence could be possible, two facts compel us to consider an inner-Phrygian development, namely the position of the clitic in the final position, instead of the beginning of the sentence, and the prior existence of an emphatic clitic *s⸗* attached to nouns and personal names: M-01dI *s⸗materan* "this Mother(Goddess)" and B-07 *s⸗manes* and *s⸗manin* "this Manes" (nom.sg. and acc.sg., respectively).

The Aramaic syntactical influences on Phrygian can be found in the imprecation W-01 engraved on a façade (the so-called Areyastin Monument) dated ca. 550 (close in time to the Achaemenid conquest: *yos esai≠t* ⫶ *materey* ⫶ *evetekseteͅ²y* ⫶ *ovevin* ⫶ *onoman* ⫶ *daket* ⫶ *lakedo⸗key* ⫶ *venavtun* ⫶ *avtay* ⫶ *materey* "whoever puts his own name in this mother *evetekseteͅ²y*, let him be taken by the mother goddess herself."[26] Leaving aside the unsolved problem of the accusative use in *venavtun* when a nominative is expected, their use of *key* 'and' (a graphic variant of *ke* B-04, B-05, etc., New Phrygian κε) is quite strange because the

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25   In fact, it is common to find the particle *ni(y)* / νι after the introductory relative pronoun *ios, yos* / ιος but it is the sole case of a particle in such position.

26   After observing a reading problem in the last alleged ⟨e⟩ of *evetekseteͅ²y*, Hämmig (2019: 299) read it as *evetksetiy* and considered it a verb in subjunctive. However, the reading ⟨i⟩ does not lack problems, as the letter has a horizontal stroke. Conversely, because of the natural relieve of the rock, one can assume that the two horizontal strokes of an ⟨e⟩ were not engraved. In addition, a subjunctive verb in such a position is not expected without any prohibitive particle.

only thing it can connect here is the imprecative protesis (*yos ... daket*) with the apodosis (*lakedo ... materey*). In the Indo-European language, it is not a feature expected to happen; however, it is a common feature of the Semitic languages and is found in analogous Aramaic imprecations, where the so-called waw-apodosis (a function for the copulative conjunction *w-* 'and') works in this way (Pat-El 2012:95). Compare Old Phrygian imprecation W-01b with the Aramaic *WMN BYŠ YʿBD ʿM PTKR ZNH WYBʿH LH ŚHR WŠMŠ* "and whoever injury does to this figure, may Śēhr and Šamš search for him!" (Keseçek Köyü, Cilicia, translation by Lipiński 1975:150). In fact, the only difference between both copulative connectors in their respective contexts is that Aramaic *W-* is a proclitic word occurring between the first and the second elements it connects, whereas Phrygian *ke(y)* follows immediately after the second of the two elements it connects.[27] Thus, this unique Phrygian use can be considered an Aramaic interference at this point, if one considers that Aramaic curses were, in fact, a model for the Phrygian ones (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:149).

A second Aramaic influence on Phrygian syntax can be found in the word order of the Dokimeion Hellenistic epitaph (MPhr-01 = W-11), the first Phrygian inscription written in the Greek alphabet (dated quite some time after the Macedonian conquest). In fact, this text is an epigram whose text is elusive, with the sole exception of the final verse (see Obrador-Cursach 2020b). Despite the difficulties, there are two clear syntagms consisting of a noun followed by an adjective and a demonstrative pronoun: v. 1 μανκα μεκας σας 'this big stele' and v. 6 κοροαν δετουν σουν 'this buried boy.' In Phrygian, the demonstrative and the adjectives normally precede the noun they qualify: *si bevdos* "this statue" (B-01), *sin=t imenan* "this shrine" (B-05) and in New Phrygian, σεμουν κνουμανει "this tomb" (*passim*), etc. One could consider that the poetic nature of the inscription could be the reason of this alteration but this order is consistent with the Aramaic common syntax. See, e.g., in KAI 318 (from Daskyleion) *ʾLH ṢLMH* "these images" or *ʾRḤ ʾ ZNH* "this road" (in both cases, a noun followed by a pronoun).

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27 This is the common position of the copulative connector in Phrygian. See, e.g., P-03: *vasous iman mekas | ḳanutieivạis | deyọs ke meḳas* "Vasos Iman the great the son of Kanutî *and* the great god" (Vasos and the god are linked here). Note also that it can also occur twice, namely after the first and the second elements it coordinates. See, e.g., Old Phrygian B-07 *tiv[a]n ke devụṇ ke* "Zeus and the god" and New Phrygian 3.1 = 97 με δεως κε ζεμελως κε "in the sight of gods and men."

6   Phrygian Bilinguals in the Iron Age

Contrary to the Roman period, when Phrygian is commonly used after a Greek inscription, bilinguals in Old Phrygian are extremely rare. Indeed, we know of only two bilingual inscriptions, both dated to the Achaemenid period: the Phrygio-Greek B-05 (from Germanos—Soğukçam) and the Phrygio-Aramaic G-157. B-05 was found in Vezirhan, Bithynia. It is engraved on a Greco-Persian stele and consists of thirteen long lines of Phrygian text and seven shorter lines of Greek under a relief depicting a goddess, a meeting between her and a noble, and a hunting scene of the same man. Given the great difference between the lengths of the two texts, they are not word-for-word translations. Indeed, it is assumed that the Phrygian text was the original, whereas the Greek was added later as a summary of the Phrygian. Moreover, this addition is shown by the position of the Greek text, which was engraved in the empty space of the stele in two parts, one (l. 1–5) above the Phrygian text and the other (l. 6–7) below. The clearest correspondences between the content of the two texts can be seen in Table 8.1.

TABLE 8.1   Equivalences between the Phrygian and Greek texts of B-05 (Obrador-Cursach 2020a:128).

Phrygian	Greek
l. 1 *sin∢t imenạn kạliyạ ti tedạt* […] "this monument Kallias erect[ed]"	l. 1–3 Καλλίας Αβικτου παῖς ηγημας ἀνέ|θἔκεν. "Kallias son of Abiktos erected this"
l. 8–9 *yos niy ạrt sin∢t imenạn kạkạ oskạvos kạkey | kạn dedạsitiy tubetiv* "whoever does harm around this monument …"	l. 3–4 Ὅστις περὶ | τὸ ἱερὸν κακουρ⟨γ⟩ετήσαι "Whoever harms around this holy place"
l. 11 *torvetun ↑irạy* "cutting by his hand"(?)	l. 4–5 ἒ̄ δρῦν | ἐκόψαι "or cuts a tree"

The second Old Phrygian bilingual consists of a fragmented graffito on a pot-sherd found in the surface near the Building NCT in Gordion: the little inscription G-157. Unfortunately, few letters have been preserved and its contents remain unknown. If the lambda for the sole readable Aramaic letter is accepted, it is very likely that it contains a common property indication, because the Aramaic preposition *l-* is commonly used to denote it. In any case, the Phrygian sequence [---]*arg* lacks any parallel. A late inscription may be added to the list of the Phrygian bilingual inscriptions list, Oreshko (in Oreshko and Alagöz 2023) claimed that the recently found inscription from Gordion (G-12) contains

Lydian and supposedly 'Lydianizing' words, a question to examine in detail in the future.

7 Textual Convergence Concerning Phrygian

7.1 Shared "Literary" Resources (*Metrics, Merisms, and Internal Accusatives*)

The use of poetic resources in the Old Phrygian corpus is an unexplored field, because most of the texts are too short and/or tentatively deciphered. In fact, only one feature has been suggested: a possible rhyme in G-229, a graffito on a handle of a vessel dated to the 5th or 4th century BCE:

> *mamutas sokposa*

> *mamutas itoies gloka*

Brixhe and Lejeune (CIPPh 183–184) pointed out the repetition of the *mamutas* in the beginning and the rhyme in the final words of each line. However, the text remains very obscure because of hapaxes. The word *mamutas* is very likely a personal name. They compared it to Hieroglyphic Luwian *ma-mu-ti-* but it is, in fact, the dative of *mamud-* 'company.' A comparison with Μαμοτης (attested in Lycia, Cau 2003:396) is preferred, but morphologically, Phrygian *mamutas* could be an ethnic parallel to Greek Μαμουτ(τ)ηνος (KON § 761-2).[28]

Leaving aside this problematic short text in the Middle Phrygian epigram from Dokimeion (MPhr-01 = W-11, 4th century BCE) two features are shared with other languages: metrics and internal accusative. On metrics, Lubotsky (2017) identified that the text consists of six verses of 17 syllables, very likely "reminiscent of the dactylic hexameters" (2017:428), separated by two-spotted kola at the end of each one. In fact, it is the number of syllables that a holo-dactylic hexameter has. According to Lubotsky's identification (with some modifications after Obrador-Cursach 2020b), the inscription reads as follows:

l. 1–2   μανκα μεκας σας κιυιν εν κε βιλαταδε|ναν νεκ οινουν :
l. 2–3   ποκραιου κη γλουρεος γαμενουν | σα σοροι ματι μακραν :

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28   Other Phrygian ethnics are Old Phrygian *tias* (G-249, said of a *sekel* 'weight'), New Phrygian Πουντας (said of the god *Bas* in 1.1 = 48), which can be equated to Greek Ποντανηνός (KON § 1085), and, before being a personal name, *Gordiyas > Γορδίας, equated to Greek Γορδιανός (literally 'the one from Gordion'). On Phrygian ethnics, see Obrador-Cursach 2019a:548.

l. 3–4 βλασκον κε τακρις κε λουν|ιου μροτις λαπτα ματια οινουν :

l. 4–5 νικοστρατος | κλευμαχοι μιρος αιδομενου ματιν κισυις :

l. 5–7 μο|.κρος υιταν παρτιας πλαδε πορκοροος ..|ρος παντης :

l. 7–8 πεννιτι ιος κοροαν δετουν | σουν ομαστα ομνισιτου≤ς.

Although isosyllabism is contrary to the nature of hexameter, an adaptation of a foreign tradition may explain the practice. In any case, echoes of the same metrical schemes are found in some New Phrygian formulae:

> τος νι με ζεμελος κε δεος κε τιη τιττετικμενος ε[ι]του (18.3 = 6)

> αυτος κε ουα κοροκα γεγαριτμενος ας βαταν τευτου≤ς (62.2 = 33 and 62.5 = 36)

Also in the Middle Phrygian inscription from Dokimeion, a cognate accusative is found: ομαστα ομνισιτου=ς "let him say vows" (*vel sim.*). Improving upon a first proposal by Brixhe (2004:24), the sequence is considered to be a noun in the function of direct complement of the verb ομνισιτου and both words derived from *h_3emh_3- 'to insist, urge' (*h_2emh_3- in LIV²:265–266, see EDG:1078), a root found in Gr. ὄμνυμι 'to swear, affirm with an oath, take a vow' (for the whole construction, see Obrador-Cursach 2020b). The use of cognate accusatives is common in other Anatolian corpora; see, e.g., Hittite *hanneššar hanna-* "to judge a judgment" (more examples in Hoffner and Melchert 2008:248), Hieroglyphic Luwian ASSUR letter F+G §18 |*kwa/i-na-'* |("*69")*wa/i-za-na* |("*69")*wa/i-zi-ha-na* "which request we requested" and Lycian TL 57 l. 3–4 *pijẽtẽ pijatu* "they gave a gift." Thus, it could be another example of Anatolian influence on Phrygian, but the cognate accusative is found in Greek and Semitic languages as well, an even in many languages out of Anatolia.

   A clearer Anatolian influence can be found in the use of *merisms* in the Phrygian curses, especially—but not exclusively—in the New Phrygian inscriptions. Merism is "rhetorical device which consists of referring to a particular thing or notion by way of listing two or more of its contrasting parts or subcategories" (Mouton and Yakubovich 2019:209). The clearest examples are *nevos niptiya* "grandson (and) granddaughter" (B-05, identified by Hämmig 2013 with the meaning 'son and daughter'), δεως ζεμελως "gods and men" (*passim*), and ζειρα κε οι πετες κε "his hands and feet" (40.1 = 12).[29] New Phrygian ζως κε πεις

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29   Before Obrador-Cursach (2020a:55, 331), πετες was read as πειες, an unparalleled word that makes no sense despite the comparison with πεις in a different curse. The same word is found in Old Phrygian G-02 as *petes* according to Kloekhorst (2015).

"living and?" (43.1 = 69) may be added to this list if πεις means something similar to "dead." Merisms are very common in the Anatolian corpora, especially in ritual contexts; see, e.g., the beginning of the Hittite list of gods (KUB 6.45 iii 4–12 and duplicate KUB 6.46 iii 41–51) [(DINGIR.LÚ^MEŠ)] DINGIR.MUNUS^MEŠ *ŠA* LUGAL-*RI* U *ŠA* MUNUS.LUGAL-*TI kuiēš daran*[(*te*)*š*] *kuiēš* UL *daranteš* "gods (and) goddesses of the king and of the queen (those whose name has been) pronounced and (those whose name has) not (been) pronounced." Cuneiform Luwian is another good source for merisms; see those found in KUB 35.45 ii 1–4, such as AMA-*ya-an ta-a-ti-ya-an* "of mother (or) father" or *š*EŠ-*ya-an* NIN-*ya-an* "of brother (or) sister," and those from KUB 35.54 iii 1′–5′, CTH 758.1.C *puwadilza nanuntarrisa* "past (or) present," *ulantalliyan hwidwaliyan* "of the dead (or) the living" or *ir*(*hu*)*waliyan parittarwaliyan* "internal (or) external," said of an evil (see the conscious study by Mouton and Yakubovich 2019, from which I took the Anatolian examples given here).

7.2 *The Case of the Phrygian Indirect Bilinguals* (*Luwian, Aramaic, and Greek*)

Despite the scarcity of bilinguals, Phrygian has an interesting amount of textual convergences with other languages. They can be also called *indirect bilinguals* because unrelated inscriptions written in different languages contain the same formula. They are abundant in the Roman Imperial period concerning Phrygian and Greek, but they also occur in the Old Phrygian corpus. The most striking case is that the more common New Phrygian curse με δεως κε ζεμελως κε ατ τιε τιττετικμενος ειτου "let him be accursed by Zeus in the sight of gods and men" (this is a standardized version of a text found elsewhere in this subcorpus) has a Hieroglyphic Luwian source (Lubotsky 1998:420): KARKAMIŠ A 3, line 4, reads as follows: *wa/i-sá-* | DEUS-*na-za* | CAPUT-*tá-za-ha* | **336-na-na* | (DEUS)TONITRUS-*tá-tí-i* | (LOQUI)*ta-tara/i-ia-mi-sa i-zi-ia-ru* "and let him be made accursed by Tarhunzas in the sight of gods and men." We do not know when Phrygian borrowed it nor the contexts where it could be preserved from the Iron Age to its reappraisal in the Roman Imperial period.[30]

A second case of textual convergence between Phrygian and an Anatolian language may be found in the Old Phrygian seal Dd-103 (as cited above): *maneion en* "(I) am of Manes" (as suggested in Obrador-Cursach 2019c: 210–211). The reading has the difficulty that the alleged letter ⟨i⟩ seems to be an orna-

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30   See now Anfosso 2022 for critical remarks on the comparison between the Luwian and
      the New Phrygian imprecative apodosis.

mental sign. However, its advantages are twofold: unparalleled abbreviations *on* and *en* are ruled out, and parallels for such construction occur in contemporary seals written in Lydian, such as *manel=im* "I am of Manes" (LW 73, LW 55). In both cases, the personal name *manes* (not necessary referring to the same person) is derived through a suffix to build an adjective. Because the structure is unique in Phrygian, one may consider that the Phrygian seal is, in fact, a calque of those found in Lydian.

Finally, textual convergence is also found between Old Phrygian and Aramaic. The earliest Phrygian epitaph (B-07) contains a closing formula shared with the Aramaic inscription KAI 318 (Obrador-Cursach 2021a).[31] Both inscriptions were found in Daskyleion, the satrapal seat of Hellespontic Phrygia, and clearly date to the Achaemenid period. Because of some linguistic details (such as the use of the indefinite *kos* where the phoric *tos* is expected), the Phrygian version must be a calque, rather than the source of the formula. Both versions of the formula read as follows:

> *HWMYTK BL WNBW ZY ʾRḤʾ ZNH YHWH ʿDH ʾYŠ ʾL YʿML*
> "I adjure you by Bel and Nabu: who will cross this road, let him do no harm" (Aramaic KAI 318, l. 2–4)

> *yos tiv[a]n ke devuṇ k umnotan ordoineten me kos anivaketi sˢmaniṇ*
> "By Zeus and the God I adjure you: who goes straight along, let him not harm Manes" (Old Phrygian B-07, l. 2–3)

As stated above, the syntax of Old Phrygian W-01b appears to be influenced by Aramaic. In fact, the punishment of this Old Phrygian inscription consists of the desecrator being caught by *Matar*, the Mother Goddess: *lakedo=key ⁞ venavtun ⁞ avtay ⁞ materey* "let him be taken by the Mother Goddess herself." A similar punishment is found in the Aramaic inscription from Keseçek Köyü (Cilicia): *WYBʿH LH ŚḤR WŠMŠ* "may Śēhr and Šamš search for him!" (translation by Lipiński 1975:150). In light of this last text, it is possible that this Phrygian curse is rooted in the Northwest Semitic tradition.

The protasis of the same Old Phrygian inscription, W-01b, claims to preserve the name of the person who carved the monument against later usurpers: *yos*

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31   On the Aramaic inscriptions from Anatolia, see Lemaire 2001. Note, however, that his
      translation of KAI 318, l. 2–4 differs slightly from the one given here: "Je t'adjure par Bel et
      Nébô, toi qui passerais ce chemin, que personne ne (lui) fasse de mal!" (Lemaire 2001:22).
      The verb *hwmyt* is clear in 1sg.

esai=t ꞉ *materey* ꞉ *eveteksetẹˀy* ꞉ *ovevin* ꞉ *onoman* ꞉ *daket* "whoever puts his own name in this mother *eveteksetẹˀy*." The same concern is found in the bilingual inscription of Tell Fekherye, a bilingual written in Neo-Assyrian and Aramaic: Neo-Assyrian 15–18 [15] *ma-nu* EGIR^ú *an-hu-su lu-diš* [16] MU-*ma liš-kun ma-nu šá šu-me* [17] *ú-naka-ru u* MU-*šú i-šak-ka-nu* [18] U *qar-du lu-ú* EN *di-ni-šú*. "[15] Quiconque dans l'avenir restaurera sa ruine, [16] qu'il y mette mon nom, celui qui endommagera mon nom [17] et y mettra son nom, [18] qu'Adad le Héros soit son adversaire!" (translation by Abou-Assaf et al. 1982:17) and Aramaic 11–12 *WZY YLD ŠMY MNH WYŠYM ŠMH HDD GBR LHWY QBLH* "and whoever removes my name from it and places his own name, may Hadad the Warrior be his adversary" (translation by Cathcart 1996:141).

The same motive is also found in Hieroglyphic Luwian KARATEPE 1 §§ 59–64 (the Luwian–Phoenician bilingual) and KARKAMIŠ A11a:

> POST+*RA/I-wa/i-sà«-ti?»-pa-wa/i-tà* | *kwa/i-a-ti* ‖ PRAE-*na* CRUS.CRUS-*i wa/i-tà-'* | SCRIBA+*RA/I-la-i kwa/i-i-sa* | *za-zi-pa-wa/i-tá* (SCALPRUM) *ku-ta-sa₅+ra/i-zi* LOCUS-*za-'* (SA₄)*sá-ní-ti* ‖ NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tá* |*za-na* DEUS-*ní-na* LOCUS-*za-'* (SA₄)*sá-ni-ti* ‖ NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tá á-ma-za á-lá/í-ma-za* ARHA MALLEUS-*i* ‖ *wa/i-tú-ta-'* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa-sa-ha* LIS-*la/i/u-za-tú*
>
> "If in future they [the gates] shall pass down to (one) who shall …, and shall overturn these orthostats from (their) place(s), or shall overturn this god from (his) place, or shall erase my name, against him may Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba litigate!"[32] (KARKAMIŠ A11a §§ 21–26)

Because of the peculiarities of the Old Phrygian corpus (most inscriptions contain just a personal name or a short text), curses and formulae used to protect the monuments are the contexts where textual convergence in Phrygian can be easily detected. In fact, formulae against desecrators are texts commonly borrowed by one language from another. The same tendency can be found in New Phrygian, as some curses have analogous renderings in Greek inscriptions from Anatolia (see Table 8.2).

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32   Translation by CHLI:96.

TABLE 8.2   Equivalences between some New Phrygian curses and their counterparts in Greek

New Phrygian curses	Greek curses
με δεως κε ζεμελως κε ατ τιε τιττετικμενος ειτου "let him be accursed by Zeus in the sight of gods and men" (*passim*)	καὶ γενήσεται παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐπικατάρατος "and he will become accursed in the sight of gods and men" (Teos 186)
βας ιοι βεκος με βερετ "let Bas not produce bread to him" (8.1 = 86 and 7.2 = 111)	μη δὲ γῆ καρποφορήσοιτο αὐτῷ "neither the earth produce fruit to him" (Strubbe 1997:§ 76)
με κε οι τοτοσσειτι βας βεκος "let Bas not give fruit to him" (7.1 = 99)	μὴ γῆ … καρποὺς δοίη "let the earth not give fruit" (Strubbe 1997:§ 153)

8   Concluding Remarks

The overview presented in the preceding pages shows how the Phrygian linguistics contacts fit the history of their speakers. The clearest contacts concern the Anatolian languages, Semitic (especially Aramaic), and Greek (see Table 8.3). Details about contacts with the Anatolian languages are difficult to obtain, but one finds loanwords and shared formulae with these languages, mainly Luwian and Lydian, which became textual models for the Phrygian epigraphy. In fact, the Phrygian settlement in the central Anatolian milieu put this language in the privileged scenario of a crossroads between eastern and western Anatolia and the Anatolian Indo-European languages spoken in the region. The influences of these languages on Phrygian phonetics and syntax are possible but remain unclear. Today, contacts with Hittite are highly speculative, and contacts with other Anatolian languages of the first millennium (excluding Lydian) are unattested, despite being more likely. It is worth recalling elite interchanges such as the bowls, the cauldron, and the ladle with early Old Phrygian inscriptions (HP-103–113) found in Tumulus D of Bayındır (Lycia, mid-8th century BCE).[33]

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33   These texts are very short and all most likely contain only a personal name: six inscriptions read the well-attested personal name *ates* (HP-103–108), one shows a possible variant *a↑ses* (HP-109), HP-111 reads *si↑idos* (a name also read in G-346, on a beam from the Gordion tumulus MM), HP-111 contains *ata* (another well-known name) and, finally, HP-112

TABLE 8.3   Attested kinds of linguistic contacts with Phrygian in the Iron Age (TC = textual convergence).

	Loanwords	Phonetics	Syntax	Bilinguals	TC
Anatolian	+	?	?	−	+
Semitic	+	−	+	+	+
Greek	+	+	−	+	+

Contacts with the Semitic languages are attested throughout the whole history of the Phrygian language. In fact, the earliest evidence for such influence is the loanword *sekel* read in one of the earliest Phrygian inscriptions: G-249, dated to ca. 800 BCE. However, the relationship between Phrygian and Semitic (mainly Aramaic) intensifies during the Achaemenid period for obvious historical reasons. During that period, we find the sole bilingual graffito from Gordion (G-157) and the Phrygian formulae against desecrators influenced by Aramaic. In fact, calques after Aramaic models of this kind of text explain the syntactical influence on Phrygian, which otherwise would imply a deep, intensive contact between both languages. During the same Achaemenid period, some Old Persian loanwords are found.

Finally, Greek is the language that most influenced Phrygian throughout its whole history, but in the Iron Age only few borrowings have been identified—and all of them in the western Phrygian epigraphy. The Greco-Phrygian bilingual B-05 is also found in Bithynia, to the west of the Phrygian cultural core. There are examples of Phrygian textual convergence with Greek, although the syntactical Greek influence on Phrygian remains undetected. However, this last point is difficult to study because of the similarity of both languages due to their dialectal position.

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and HP-113 contain two hapax: *dide* and *idi*, respectively. As in the case of the analogous inscriptions from the Gordion tumulus MM, they could be the names of the (symbolic) participants in the funerary feast.

On the Fringes: Kartvelian, Armenian, Etruscan, and Lemnian

Zsolt Simon

1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to those (alleged) contacts that represent peripheral cases in the research on loan contacts of the Anatolian languages. They are peripheral in both the geographic and scholarly senses; the latter means that they are frequently neglected, despite the geographical and historical facts that require their inclusion, and that proposals have frequently been built upon outdated philological basis, often also neglecting the methods of historical linguistics. These cases include (in geographical distance) alleged contacts with the Kartvelian languages (§1), Armenian (§2), and, finally, Etruscan and Lemnian (§3).

2 The Northeastern Periphery: The Kartvelian Languages

Urartian and Greek sources report on a plethora of entities along the eastern Black Sea littoral, to the south of it, and in the region extending until Urartu. Nevertheless, in most of the cases we hardly know anything of these peoples and polities other than their names and rough location. According to our current knowledge, in this area only two languages can be identified with certainty: Proto-Armenian (see §2) and the precursor of the Zan languages.

The Zan languages (today's Laz in Türkiye and Megrelian in Georgia) represent a branch of the Kartvelian language family, and several peoples of the ancient Black Sea littoral are identified with their ancestors.[1] Although they are not directly neighboring the Anatolian languages (but cf. below), due to the geographical proximity loan contacts would not be surprising. Unfortunately,

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[1] Their precise number varies, but definitely at least the Macrones (later called San(n)oi and Tzanoi, whence the term *Zan*) and the Mossynoikoi/Heptakometai/Skythenoi/Skoutinoi, and the Tibarenoi probably belonged to them as well; see Lordkipanidze 1996:158–163 and Simon 2014c, especially 125–129 with detailed references.

no borrowings in either direction have yet been detected. However, this is not the result of exhaustive scholarly investigations; on the contrary, it is due to a research gap, as etymological research on the Zan languages has until now concentrated on the inherited Kartvelian vocabulary and the Caucasian contacts (especially Armenian and Northwest Caucasian), setting aside the general question of the lexicography of both languages, which has reached modern standards only fairly recently. In other words, no assessment can be given due to the lack of research.

The matter is further complicated by an unresolved historical problem: the tribes attributed to the Zan languages appear in our historical sources with the advent of the Greek historiography (ca. 600 BCE). As such, we simply do not know when they arrived to these areas. Nevertheless, there is a long-standing idea that connects them to the Kaška, a Hittite- and Neo-Hittite-period population with significant territorial overlaps (most recently Giorgadze 2000). Should this hypothesis turn out to be correct, it would increase the probability of Anatolian loans in the Zan languages and even vice versa. Nevertheless, we know nothing about the Kaška language beyond onomastics, an in-depth investigation of which remains a desideratum (but see now Sasseville forthcoming, who argues for the identification of a Kaška text and Kaška words in Hittite texts), and accordingly, the theory cannot be proved. Moreover, alternatively, the Kaška were proposed to be a Hattian remnant population (see especially Singer 2007:171–176 and the overview in Simon 2012:10–11), a language isolate (and definitely not a Kartvelian language; see the critical overview of the different proposals in Simon 2012:249–254). That said, the two theories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, because the Kaška society may have been multilingual (again, we simply do not know; note also the scholars who argue that the Kaška was in fact only a social category; see, e.g., Zimansky 2007; Gerçek 2012:27–62; Corti 2017:219–220).[2]

While Zan—Anatolian proposals are missing, Anatolian loan contacts with other Kartvelian configurations have been proposed: Georgian, Proto-Georgian-Zan (the common ancestor of Georgian and Zan), and especially Proto-Kartvelian borrowings from Hittite and Luwian, and sometimes even Kartvelian loans in these languages. Setting aside the completely outdated list of van Ginneken (1937:282 with fn. 2) and isolated proposals, the main impetus was given by Giorgadze (1979), who argued that a part of the observed lexical similarities between Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Kartvelian are in fact due to

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2   Needless to say, all of these considerations also imply the theoretical possibility of loan contacts between Hattian and Proto-Zan (or Kartvelian languages in general). This is yet another topic to be explored.

a later contact (i.e., between the Anatolian and Kartvelian languages), without, however, more precisely defining the direction of the borrowings. It was Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995:793, originally published in 1984) who updated and enlarged Giorgadze's idea. This resulted in nearly two dozen proposals altogether. However, a recent critical overview by the present author (Simon forthcoming) shows that almost none of the proposals can be upheld due to the usual circumstances: the proposals involve onomatopoetic words, comparisons of Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Kartvelian words, and formally untenable cases. That said, one proposal, in modernized form, Proto-Kartvelian *s_1tum- 'ear' from (pre-)Proto-Luwic or pre-Luwian *$stūmm(ant)$- 'ear' (the idea goes back to Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:793), is entirely possible both formally and semantically (although the borrowing of such terms may sound strange, it is in fact cross-linguistically well known; consider, e.g., English *leg* from Old Norse). Should this proposal turn out to be correct, it would have interesting implications for the prehistory of both sides, especially because this would provide the first absolute date for Proto-Kartvelian by a reliable methodology, even though it would be only approximate (i.e., before the 20th century BCE). Nevertheless, at the moment it merely emphasizes the need for in-depth investigations in this direction.

3   The Northeastern Periphery: Armenian

Armenian belongs to the so-called Balkan Indo-European languages (see especially Klingenschmitt 1994:244–245; Matzinger 2005:381–386; Olsen and Thorsø 2022:209–217), a clade or an areal group within the Indo-European language family consisting of Greek, Phrygian, Armenian, Albanian, and presumably other, lesser-known fragmentary Indo-European languages. Therefore, it must be an immigrant to its historical territories, a notion also supported by Greek authors, who claimed that the Armenians were Phrygian colonists (Herodotus, 7.73) or that they were from Phrygia (Eudoxus of Cnidus, fr. 279 Lasserre). Nevertheless, the route of their migration is unknown, but even the shortest route must have crossed or bypassed the territories of the following northern Anatolian languages (listing only those that are known beyond onomastic material): Hattian, Palaic, Hittite, Luwian, Proto-Zan, and Urartian.[3]

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3 Most recently, a genetic study argued for an immigration from the Steppe via the Caucasus (Lazaridis et al. 2022). One of several weak points in this theory is the very fact that it cannot account for the Anatolian loanword layers of Armenian (for a detailed critical assessment of this theory, see Simon 2022d). Whatever the route may have been, there is general agreement

Any Hattian language contact is highly theoretical on chronological grounds. Although we do know now that Hattian was spoken in the Hittite Empire period as well (Simon 2012 and especially the overview 8–10 with references), we do not know when it died out; it may have disappeared by the time the Proto-Armenians crossed their territories (we have no reason to assume the presence of Proto-Armenians in Anatolia in the Hittite Empire period; see below). However, they may have survived the Hittite Empire for a time, and there is even a suggestion that the Kaška were a remnant Hattian population (see §1 above). Whatever the case may be, there is a suggestion *sub iudice* of a possible Hattian loan in Armenian: *kamurǰ* 'bridge'. The etymology of this word is notoriously difficult because, setting aside substrate theories, neither the Indo-European etymology (a connection with Greek γέφῡρα 'beam, bridge') nor the assumption of a borrowing from Urartian (*qab/purza* 'bridge') can regularly account for its *-m-* (see the overview in EDAIL:351–353 with references). Accordingly, Simon (2022d) suggested that Hattian *hāmuruwa_a* '(roof) beam', which was already compared with this word as borrowing from a common substrate, was in fact its source, without the Hattian suffix *=wa_a* (spelled as *-u-wa_a*) and with a regular Armenian suffix. Although this hypothesis is entirely possible, both phonologically (with a sound substitution of the laryngeal)[4] and morphologically, it is weakened by the above-mentioned chronological problem and by the fact that we do not know whether the Hattian word did indeed contain this suffix.

The Proto-Armenian—(Proto-)Zan linguistic contacts, as well as their earlier phases (Proto-Georgian-Zan, Proto-Kartvelian), are covered extensively in the literature.[5] Because this topic is rather beyond the scope of this chapter, let it suffice to say that there is a general agreement regarding the existence of the Proto-Armenian—Proto-Zan linguistic contacts, but the precise list of loanwords as well as their chronology (i.e., regarding the above-mentioned phases) and the direction of the borrowings require further research (e.g., Martirosyan EDAIL:212 with references claims that Arm. *gi* 'juniper' is the source of Proto-Kartvelian **γwi(a)-* 'dto', while Simon (2023c:576–577) argued that because the correct Proto-Kartvelian reconstruction is **γwiw-* and the Armenian word has

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regarding the existence of these loanword layers, and since this is beyond the scope of the chapter, the question of the Proto-Armenians' precise route can be left open here.

4   This would contradict the Armenian substitution of the Luwian laryngeal (see below). Nevertheless, we do not know the precise phonetics of the Hattian laryngeal, and it is entirely possible that the Hattian and Luwian laryngeals were phonetically not identical (being spelled identically in cuneiform script only because there were no other spelling possibilities).

5   See, e.g., the modern, but very different lists in Djahukian 1990:31; Schmidt 1992; Klimov 1998: *passim*; Greppin 2000; Thorsø 2022; Simon 2023c, Nielsen 2023:39–88, all with further references.

no regular Indo-European etymology, the Armenian word would represent a regular borrowing from Proto-Zan *γwi-). That said, there exist, of course, generally agreed-upon borrowings, such as Armenian *očcxar* 'sheep' from Proto-Zan **o-čxar-* 'sheep' (cf. Georg. *sa-cxovar-* 'cattle' and *cxovar-* 'sheep', Greppin 2000:87 fn. 12; Fähnrich 2007:585–586). Although a sociolinguistic evaluation depends on the precise list of these loan contacts, as the above examples show, terms for the local flora and fauna are definitely part of them. The date of these loan contacts depends on the Proto-Armenian presence south of the eastern Black Sea littoral, which had to fall somewhere within the period between the early 12th and early 7th centuries BCE, according to the most recent calculation by Simon (2022d).

The main discussion on the role of Armenian in the Anatolian loan contacts focuses on the Indo-European Anatolian loans in Armenian. Although Palaic loans have not been proposed (indeed, neither are they expected, on chronological grounds; cf. below), since research began, approximately 100 Hittite and Luwian loans in Armenian have been proposed. The scholarly reaction has been twofold. On the one hand, these proposed loans were completely ignored in the chapter on the Armenian lexicon even in the most recent handbook of Indo-European studies (Clackson 2017:1120–1124, especially 1123). On the other hand, they have generated a new wave of critical discussions in the last decade (Simon 2013a, 2021e, 2022d; Martirosyan 2017; Housepian 2017, all with detailed references to previous works) and this discussion does not seem to end.[6] These discussions led to the restriction of the source languages only to Luwian and to a radical decrease in the number of the loans to the following five cases: *laxowr* 'ivy; parsley' from Luw. **lahhur-* 'greenery' (whence Hitt. (deriv.) *lahhurnuzzi-* 'foliage, leafy branches, greenery (of trees and shrubs)'); *towpᶜ* 'case, box, chest, censer' from Luw. **tuppa(/i)-* (whence É *duppašši*, cf. Hitt. ᴳᴵˢ*tuppa-* 'chest, basket'); *vaš* 'good, bravo' from Luw. *wāšu-* 'good', *xaṙn* 'mixture; mixed' from Luw. **harniya-* (whence, e.g., *harnanta/i-* 'leavening'), and the personal name *Mušeł* from *Muršilis*.

This has important repercussions for both the chronology and the sociolinguistics of the Armenian—Anatolian loan contacts: whereas Palaic and Hittite loanwords would require contact with Proto-Armenian already during the second millennium BCE (more precisely, before the 12th century BCE), Luwian

extends the chronological limit at least until the early 7th century BCE.[7] However, because there is not a single piece of evidence for the presence of Proto-Armenian speakers in Hittite Anatolia,[8] we must restrict the Luwian loans to the period between ca. the early 12th and early 7th centuries BCE. Future research will determine whether a more precise date can be given. From a sociolinguistic point of view, the low number of loans, combined with the lack of any common semantic background, rather suggests superficial contacts.

Finally, the Anatolian—Armenian loan contacts have a special aspect, namely the attempt to demonstrate Armenian loans in Hittite as well as the Armenian origin of several Hittite names (see, most recently, Djahukian 1990:27–28 with ample references to the previous literature). This is, of course, *a priori* not impossible and would firmly establish the presence of Proto-Armenian speakers in Hittite Anatolia. The Armenian etymology of these Hittite words is, however, untenable: setting aside a philologically false case,[9] Hittite *luzzi-* 'forced service, public duty, corvée' is clearly internally derived from a verbal root of PIE origin (EDHIL:535 with references, *contra* Djahukian 1990:28 from *luc* 'yoke; weight, burden; hard labor'), *arziya-* 'cultivated land' (also in Luwian) can hardly be separated from Hittite *arši-* 'planting, cultivation',[10] and

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7   This is the period of the latest Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions currently known. Although Neo-Hittite statehood ended only in 401 BCE (Simon 2021a) and we have a vast number of Luwian names in alphabetic transmission, it remains wholly unclear when Luwian died out.

8   The Anatolian presence of Proto-Armenian speakers during the Hittite period is usually built upon the following claims:

1)   Hittite loans in Armenian (which, however, do not exist, as per above).

2)   The derivation of the Armenian endonym *hay* from the Hittite period toponym *Hayaša*, which has yet to be demonstrated (for criticism, see Petrosyan 2007:42–49; Kitazumi 2013; Simon 2022d, all with further references). However, even if it were to shown, it still would not prove anything more than the survival of a toponym, without any compelling implications regarding the languages behind these terms (cf. the cases of the French or the Macedonians).

3)   Arbitrary Armenian etymologies of Hayašean onomastics (see the criticism in Petrosyan 2007:48 with fn. 17).

4)   Armenian loans in Hittite as well as Armenian etymologies for Hittite onomastic material, all of them untenable; see below.

5)   An Armenian loan in Hurrian that does not exist (see the criticism in Simon 2022d).

9   *ḫaz(z)izit-* does not mean 'a kind of pastry' but 'ear' (which sometimes appears in the shape of cultic pastry) and, accordingly, cannot be a borrowing from Armenian *hac^c* 'bread' (*contra* Djahukian 1990:27–28). On its Hurrian origin see Simon 2020c:414–415 with refs.

10   With HED A and E/I:187 and Melchert 2024:34 (*contra* HW² A:365, cf. also HEG A-K:75), not included in EDHIL.

Djahukian's proposed Armenian *art* 'cornfield, tilled field' (1990:27) does not fit formally.[11] Finally, although Hittite *ēšri-* 'fleece' lacks a reliable etymology,[12] Djahukian's proposed Armenian source (*asr* 'wool, fleece', 1990:27) does not lead to the Hittite word. Similarly untenable is the Armenian etymologizing of Hittite theonyms (Djahukian 1990:28): since practically nothing is known about the functions of the deities involved, any derivation from a similar-sounding Armenian word is entirely gratuitous (*Šulutta* [*recte Šulutta⌈x⌉*[(-), van Gessel 1998:413] ~ *šołot* 'radiant'), not to mention that these derivations, moreover, do not even fit formally (*Andaliya* ~ *and* 'cornfield, arable field'; *Lušiti* ~ *loys* (gen. *lowsoy*) 'light', *Zanduza* ~ *šantᶜocᶜ* [from *šantᶜ/d* 'lightning'], *Zukki* (summoned in the birth rituals) ~ *jowkn* 'fish') or semantically (*Huzziya* ~ *xowcᶜ* 'small chamber, cell', which is probably a loan from Semitic [EDAIL:335 with discussion] and thus, too late). Only *Šanta*, the War God, is known by function, which is exactly why its derivation from Arm. *šantᶜ/d* 'lightning' is not fitting (furthermore, it also has an internal etymology as a participle from Hittite *šāi-* 'to become sullen, to be(come) angry' [see, e.g., Hutter 2003:228], which is semantically more fitting). Also the Hittite-period personal names etymologized as Armenian by Djahukian (1990:28) are clearly Anatolian because they consist of transparent Anatolian names,[13] a typical Anatolian *Lallname* (*Tatta* is thus not to be explained from *tᶜatᶜ* 'sole, palm' or the personal name *Tᶜatᶜ*), and a formally not fitting one (*Arziūtta-* from *arciw* 'eagle').

At the end of their road, Proto-Armenian speakers settled in the core Urartian territory and this did not remain without linguistic traces. First, several Urartian toponyms entered Armenian and have been preserved until today (for their lists, see Diakonoff 1985:601 and Dan 2020: *passim*).

Second, there is a justified, general agreement that Armenian shows borrowings from Urartian.[14] Their number is, however, unclear for several reasons. For one, these Urartian borrowings are frequently problematic philologically

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11   Djahukian derives the Armenian word from Proto-Indo-European *aĝros (*recte* **h₂eĝro-*) via Proto-Armenian *arc, which indeed stands close to the Hittite–Luwian word. Nevertheless, the origins of both the *Anlaut* and, more crucially, the final consonant of the Armenian word, are unclear; see the detailed discussion in EDAIL:146 with references.

12   HEG A-K:116–117; HED A and E/I:314–315; EDHIL:261; HW² E:127, all with references.

13   Thus, *Ali-wašu*, a typical Anatolian compound (see, e.g., Zehnder 2010:74–75) has nothing do with *ałowēs* 'fox' (which in any case does not fit formally), and *Anni*, which is simply the Hittite-Luwian word for 'mother' (Zehnder 2010:117), likewise cannot be explained from *han(i)-* 'grandmother,' which also does not fit formally (*contra* Djahukian 1990:26, 28).

14   Greppin 1982:67–68, 71, 1991a, 1991b:204, 1996, 2008a, 2008b, 2011; Diakonoff 1985; Yakubovich 2016b:180–182, 2016c:157–158; EDAIL: *passim*; Simon 2022c; Nielsen 2023:7–37; see these papers for the discussion of the words quoted below.

and linguistically (see, especially, the discussion in Simon 2022c). Additionally, next to the borrowings from Urartian proper, there are three further groups of loanwords in Armenian that were suggested to have been transmitted via Urartian: Hurrian, Akkadian, and Northeast Caucasian. Nevertheless, proof of the Urartian transmission is most often absent (a probable exception is, e.g., *pᶜox-* 'to exchange' from Urartian *puh-* 'to exchange, alter' from Akkadian *pūhum* 'exchange, substitute'), even though the Hurrian loans are presumably Urartian words simply unattested in the rather formulaic Urartian inscriptions (or some local dialect from the Hurro-Urartian language family). That said, the existence of Urartian and Hurrian loans in Armenian is certain, as demonstrated by such clear cases as *san* 'kettle, pot, basin' from Urartian *šani* 'jug, vase', *aɫiws* 'brick, tile' from Hurr. *alipši* 'clay brick', or *xnjor* from Hurr. *hinzuri* 'apple (tree)'.

The third aspect of the Proto-Armenian settlement in Urartian territory is the alleged Armenian loans in Urartian, a hypothesis elaborated for decades in several papers.[15] On the one hand, this hypothesis met with harsh rejection, albeit without a single argument being articulated against it (Schmitt 2012:126). On the other hand, a more nuanced investigation (Simon 2022c cf. also Nielsen 2023:32–33) showed that all proposed loans are formally problematic.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, it is clear that the Armenian—Urartian contacts were rather limited, one-sided, and mainly consisted of borrowings referring to the Urartian environment and economy (cf. also Greppin 1991a:722). The date is unclear: for those who believe in Armenian loans in Urartian, the borrowing had already begun in the second half of the 9th century BCE (Petrosyan 2007:133). Nevertheless, since this cannot be substantiated, we can date these only with the poorly understood Proto-Armenian history (see in detail Simon 2022d: Proto-Armenian speakers could already have encountered Urartian during the Urartian westward expansion in the first half of the 8th century BCE, but they may have encountered them only after moving into Urartian core territory after the collapse of the Empire; this theory has archaeological support as well (Dönmez 2016, especially 171–176). Needless to say, the two possibilities as well as a loose continuous contact do not exclude each other, and further research is needed on this issue.

Finally, a *caveat*: the assessment of the Anatolian loan contacts of Armenian is severely impeded by the circumstance that all ancient Anatolian languages are corpus languages and, therefore, their vocabulary is known only to a (very) limited extent. Nevertheless, Armenian is famous for its huge number of words

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15   Diakonoff 1985:602–603, 1992; Djahukian 1992 (revised list with references to previous literature in Russian and Armenian); Petrosyan 2007:32–34, 2010 (with full previous bibliography), EDAIL: *passim*.

without etymology (see, especially, the list in Olsen 1999:935–967 regarding the noun in Classical Armenian; although slightly outdated, it gives a proper impression about the proportions), which offers hope that future research combined with the continuously growing corpus of these languages may be fruitful.

4   The Northwestern Periphery: Etruscan and Lemnian

Etruscan and Lemnian are members of the Tyrrhenian (also called Tyrsenic and Tyrsenian) language family that consists of these languages as well as Raetic. Nevertheless, since the discovery and decipherment of the Anatolian languages of the Indo-European family, there has been a constant flow of works (by scholars and laymen alike) attempting to identify Etruscan as a member of this family and often of the Anatolian branch in particular. This enthusiasm has not been dampened by the demonstration of the existence of the Tyrrhenian language family by the end of the 1990s (see especially Schumacher 1998, 2004:294–316; Rix 1998). The problem is not only that these claims usually neglected the achievements of Etruscan and Anatolian philology but also that they have ignored the methods of comparative linguistics.[16] Accordingly, none of these claims are valid, and the Tyrrhenian family simply has no established genetic connection to the Indo-European language family, and, considering the pervasive differences in their morphology and vocabulary, neither is it expected to.

The reason for this perseverant fever is, of course, well known: the allegedly 'mysterious' origin of the Etruscans (i.e., whether they are autochthonous or immigrants) already fascinated scholars in Antiquity, who are also responsible for the alternative view to the autochthonous origin: the hypothesis of the origin from Lydia (or, in general, from Anatolia), which seems to be supported by the very existence of Lemnian on the island of Lemnos. There is, of course, *a priori* nothing impossible about this scenario: the fact that the Etruscan civilization was created on the Italian Peninsula does not preclude the possibility that their language was brought in by immigrants, and an origin in an Anatolian region is not precluded by the fact that Etruscan does not belong to the Indo-European Anatolian languages, just as Hattian in the very heart of the Hittite Empire was also not an Indo-European language.

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16   Cf. the criticisms of such theories, e.g., Neu 1991; de Simone 1997, 2011; Lebrun 2009; Oettinger 2010:241–243.

However, the identification of the third member of the language family, Raetic, created a problem because it stands much farther from the other two, Etruscan and Lemnian and, accordingly, must have separated from them much earlier (even if exact dates cannot be given).[17] Although this was not addressed by the supporters of the Anatolian origin theory, it requires either two different waves from Anatolia or a single wave of speakers of only distantly related languages. Although none of these assumptions are impossible in themselves, it must be pointed out that there is absolutely no evidence for any such migration after the Neolithic period, and the Italian origin of the Lemnian (and in general, the Tyrsenians in northwestern Asia Minor) does not require such unwarranted assumptions, as it can easily be explained by the Sea Peoples phenomenon (see, especially, Oettinger 2010 and Simon 2022b:266–267, *contra* Kloekhorst 2022b:210–222).

Furthermore, the second basic problem with the Anatolian origin has been that we have no other evidence for it beyond the antique claim, which was already contrasted in Antiquity by the autochthony claim. Although Beekes (2002, especially 221–226) conveniently summarized the other arguments, they turned out to be invalid (Simon 2015c:4 fn. 15). Since everything else points to an Italian origin of the Etruscans, the Lemnians can easily be explained as immigrants from the Italian Peninsula (as per above), and the entire alternative theory can be easily explained away as an antique construction to explain the Lemnians' geographical position; indeed, the Anatolian origin would never even have emerged were it not for this antique idea.

As we see, two pillars of the Anatolian origin theory, the antique claim and the Lemnian connection prove nothing. However, the theory has a third pillar, the only potentially decisive argument in Beekes's collection, which leads precisely to the topic of this work: the alleged similarity between Etruscan and the Anatolian languages.

It is this similarity that inspired the legions who sought to classify Etruscan as an Indo-European language, and it is telling that it was not changed by the establishment of the Tyrrhenic family, either. The explanation is that, on the grammatical side, these comparisons did nothing other than cherry-pick similar endings and grammatical elements, ignoring the vast majority of the morphemes and the completely different morphology in general. That

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17   This was questioned by Kloekhorst (2022b:218–220), who pointed out that no shared exclusive innovations have been detected (which is not surprising, considering the rudimentary material from Raetic and Lemnian). Nevertheless, the existing differences (see, e.g., Salomon 2020:291–292 and, in general, Salomon 2021, both with references) justify the idea that Raetic stands apart.

said, the problem of the numerous seemingly similar words persisted (in his overview to be discussed below, Simon 2021d was able to assemble 44 proposals). The logical way out of this dilemma (i.e., that we are dealing with loanwords), became clear only at the end of the 1990s (previously, one rather talked about unspecified correspondences, isoglosses, or substrates as an alternative to cognacy), when Steinbauer (1999:367–386) collected and explained these similarities as loans in his new handbook of Etruscan. If this were correct, it would have definitively solved the problem and, simply due to the impressive number of the alleged loanwords, it had the chance to be correct. While Steinbauer soon abandoned this idea and became a follower of the cognacy hypothesis, a new wave of publications assumed the presence of Etruscans in northwestern Anatolia, although they were rather influenced by Beekes's above-quoted arguments (Kloekhorst 2012:49–50 and 2022b:210–222, ignoring the criticism on Beekes's arguments) as well as by methodologically worthless but modern-sounding genetic studies (Bachvarova 2007, especially 169–170). New loans were proposed, structural contacts were assumed, and Etruscan was even claimed to be a "heavily 'Anatolianized'" non-Indo-European language (Watkins 2001:51). Still lacking was a critical investigation that was up to date in Etruscan as well as Anatolian philology. This was especially urgent on several grounds: First, mainstream Etruscology understandably ignored the Anatolian speculations (see the references in Simon 2021d:228 fn. 3), but, therefore, the question of similar looking lexemes remained open. Second, despite the lack of proper investigations, this claim was already accepted in one of the standard Indo-European handbooks (Fortson 2010:275). Third, not every scholar accepted the hypothesis of the similar-looking words, but their criticism was ignored: in vain, de Simone had already pointed out in 1982 (!) that one of the cornerstones of Etruscan—Anatolian contacts, namely the connection of the personal name *Tarχna* and the mythical hero *Tarchon* and the name of the pan-Anatolian Storm God (*Tarhunt-* and related forms), was based on false philology (see the references in Simon 2021d:241, still repeated in Kloekhorst 2022b:218). Finally, the entire theory had a suspicious appearance considering that Etruscan allegedly had loans from all better-understood Anatolian languages, near and far alike, from both millennia (Hittite, Luwian, Lycian, Lydian, Carian). If the loanword theory were correct, it would pose an interesting chronological and geographical problem. However, setting aside few isolated cases (see the references in Simon 2021d:228–229), this entire problem has not received critical response. Although Oettinger (2010:241–243) attempted this, and his investigation led to the acceptance of several proposals, he included only approximately half of the cases and his methodology remained unclear (cf. Simon 2021d:228 and s.vv.). Furthermore, his result clearly contradicted

his own persuasive explanation for the Lemnians as the remains of the Sea Peoples' migration. Finally, the present author dealt with this issue in two different papers. First, he pointed out that the hypothesis of Etruscan structural influence on Kizzuwatna Luwian is based on a misunderstanding of Etruscan morphology (Simon 2016a:330–332). Second, he collected and evaluated the loanword proposals (Simon 2021d). According to the result of his investigation, the overwhelming majority of these proposals are philologically untenable and the remaining, formally possible cases are not only extremely few (nine cases), but most of them (six of nine) are also semantically problematic, consisting mostly of particles and pronouns, and coincidence cannot be excluded, due to their very short forms. Although this should be enough to put *ad acta* the theory of Anatolian loanwords in Etruscan and the Anatolian connections of Etruscan, lengthy and boring in-depth philological investigations have proven powerless to dampen the enthusiasm. What remains is the possible loan contacts of Lemnian with western Anatolian languages. However, the very limited material and the discussions involving its interpretation do not promise quick success.

The Eastern Mediterranean and Aegean Interface

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The Aegean–Anatolian Interface: Overview of the Late Bronze and Iron Age Evidence (ca. 1400–700 BCE)

Alvise Matessi

1   Introduction

The search for the historical background of the Homeric poems or the deep roots of the Persian wars lies at the very core of Western scholarly interest in Anatolian pre-Classical history and archaeology. One and a half centuries of research after Schliemann's discovery of Troy have made it clear that interactions with the Aegean region played an important role in the development of Anatolian cultural landscapes between the second and first millennia BCE. In the first volume of this project (especially pp. 55–60 and 103–107) it has been stressed that, starting from the third millennium, a broad set of relations placed Anatolia at the nexus between Near Eastern centralized economies and Mediterranean circuits of exchange. In the early second millennium, Minoan influence was well entrenched in the Ionian coast, and, despite never penetrating farther inland, exerted an indirect influx on central Anatolian markets. Taking advantage of their geographic position, western Anatolian communities mediated Aegean interactions with central Anatolia.

In this chapter, I will explore the shaping of the Aegean–Anatolian interface from the later second millennium through the first half of the first millennium. I shall emphasize that during a first phase of this time span, patterns of contact in this trajectory remained similar to those evidenced for the Early and Middle Bronze Age. In fact, despite their increased involvement into wider Near Eastern networks, Aegean influences during the Late Bronze Age continued to have a limited bearing on central Anatolian socio-political developments, and mostly through the mediation of western Anatolian environments. The collapse of palatine economies at the end of the Bronze Age (ca. 1200 BCE), and the consequent emergence of a more fragmented—and thus more dynamic—political system over the following centuries determined a shift or, rather, an expansion of the Aegean–Anatolian interface to the southeastern Mediterranean, likely through the mediation of Cyprus.

2   The *Ahhiyawa Question* and the Historical Interactions between Hittites and Mycenaeans

The debate on Aegean–Anatolian relations during the Late Bronze Age chiefly revolves around the role and identity of a political formation termed *Ahhiyawa* in Hittite sources (Fig. 8.2). Direct or indirect information about Ahhiyawa is derived from a group of Hittite texts dating from the late 15th through the end of the 13th century BCE. It is now generally agreed that the term *Ahhiyawa* was the cuneiform Hittite equivalent for *Achaeans* and, thus, by extension, for the Late Bronze Age Aegean civilization we know as the Mycenaeans. However, this consensus represents only one important piece in a more complex puzzle that has engaged Hittitologists since the heyday of the discipline, known as the *Ahhiyawa question*, or *Ahhijawa Frage* among Germanophone scholars.[1]

Beside the Ahhiyawa-Achaeans-Mycenaeans equation, first proposed by Forrer in 1924 and met with much criticism by Sommer (1932) and others, the debate touches upon various issues concerning the geography and political status of Ahhiyawa as well as the nature of its relationships with Hatti. In particular, an important question regards whether the term *Ahhiyawa* referred to the Mycenaean world *tout court*—thus including mainland Greece—or only to Mycenaean dependencies in Anatolia. In connection with this branch of the debate, recent attempts have sought to find a referent for Ahhiyawa in specific localities, as either Mycenae itself, Thebes, Rhodes, Pylos *vel sim.*[2] Most works on the political geography of Ahhiyawa start from the common assumption that the Mycenaean world was a composite political system made of multiple city-states, a view that some Mycenaeologists have recently challenged in favor of more maximalist models of Mycenaean sovereignty.[3]

The tendency that can be argued from the above summary has been to extrapolate the term *Ahhiyawa* from its primary context (i.e., the Hittite sources) and charge it with absolute political and geographical values.[4] However, although referring to a foreign entity, Ahhiyawa was primarily a Hit-

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1   For overviews on the *Ahhiyawa question*, with abundant references to previous literature, see Fischer 2010 (with critical remarks by Gander 2015), and the more recent forum article Bryce 2018, with reactions by Cline, Kelder, Rutter, Schon, Weeden and d'Agata (pp. 197–230). All known texts (putatively) relating to Ahhiyawa are now collected in Beckman et al. (2011), also introduced by a state of the art on the related debate.

2   E.g., Mountjoy 1998 (Rhodes), Latacz 2004 (Thebes), Kelder 2010:88–93 (Mycenae), Bryce 2018 (Pylos). The identification with Thebes has also been subscribed to by Starke in an unpublished oral communication delivered in Montreal (2005).

3   See, especially, Kelder 2010, 2012.

4   For a recent balanced critique of this approach, see Marazzi 2018:264–268.
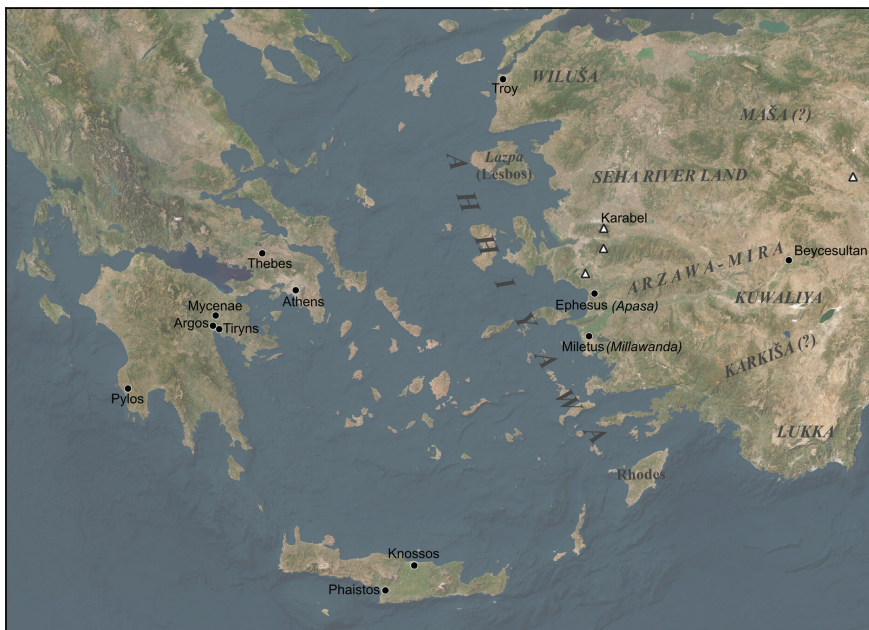
FIG 10.1   West Anatolia and the Aegean during the Hittite period

tite concept, reflecting nothing but Hittite geographical perspectives. Notions attached to the term *Ahhiyawa* did not even need to be immutable, but could indeed change over time, or synchronically assume different meanings depending on specific circumstances. Starting from this understanding, this section aims to briefly examine the most salient aspects of Hittite–Ahhiyawa relations. Although I do not presume to offer any conclusive contribution to the *Ahhiyawa question*, some of the ensuing observations may help assess the degree of politico-geographical knowledge that might have informed the Hittite definition of *Ahhiyawa* and, with it, the applicability of this term to absolute geographical constructs.

The toponym Ahhiyawa and its variant Ahhiya occur in 24 texts found in the archives of Hattuša, while other two texts (AhT 5 and 26), also from Hattuša, are generally connected to the *Ahhiyawa question* by way of secondary associations.[5] Beckman et al. (2011) also include in the corpus two Akkadian letters

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5   Ahhiyawa texts are now generally referred to with the abbreviation *AhT*, following the numbering adopted in the most recent edition, i.e., Beckman et al. 2011. Prior to this, the most complete collection of Ahhiyawa texts was provided by Sommer 1932. To the corpus of direct attestations, we may now add the fragments KBo 63.312 and KBo 57.286, which, however, are too small to be of any use.

found at Ugarit (AhT 27A–B = RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523), mentioning deliveries of metal intended for the *H/hiyawa*-men (LÚ.MEŠ *H/hiyawi*). However, it is unclear whether the term *H/hiyawa* in these texts represents a toponym or a professional category, because it is not preceded by geographic determinatives (KUR or URU).[6] This question is strictly related with the toponym Hiyawa attested in IA inscriptions from Cilicia (see below), whose association with Late Bronze Age Ahhiyawa is likewise not trivial.[7] Secure information on Ahhiyawa is very meager, especially due to the fragmentary condition of most related texts. In addition, many references to Ahhiyawa are only incidental, while the precise date of a number of important references is not well established. Inevitably, these limitations gave way to many of the conflicting interpretations at the core of the *Ahhiyawa question*.

It is important to emphasize that the bulk of the most informative texts about Ahhiyawa refer to it in the frame of Hittite involvement in western Anatolia. The very first datable reference to Ahhiyawa (in the older form *Ahhiya*), contained in the Madduwatta Text (AhT 3 = CTH 147), is very instructive in this sense: threatened by Attaršiya, ruler of Ahhiya, Madduwatta seeks refuge with Tuthaliya I, who assigns him a *foedus* in the land of Mount Zippašla, in western Anatolia. From there, infringing on the oaths taken with Tuthaliya I, Madduwatta tried to expand his territory at the expense of Arzawa and other western polities. Eventually, Madduwatta again suffers attacks by Attaršiya but then joins forces with him in seaborne raids leading as far as Alašiya (i.e., Cyprus). This story already shows some of the most recurrent patterns in the tripartite interplay between Hatti, western Anatolian polities, and Ahhiyawa: Madduwatta, like later western Anatolian leaders (e.g., Uhhaziti of Arzawa, Piyamaradu), buffered between the interests of Ahhiyawa and Hatti, alternating allegiances in either direction to further his own political ambitions; on the other hand, Hittites tended to face threats coming from western Anatolia, including Ahhiyawa interferences, by attracting local leaders to their side, turning to military force only as a last resort.

The overall impression garnered from the sparse evidence is that, from the Madduwatta affair in the late 15th century BCE up to the reign of Muwattalli II at least, Hittites regarded Ahhiyawa as a distant player, and as one among

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6   Gander (2012:285–286) does not exclude an etymological connection between *hiyawi* and the term É *heya*, 'watchtower,' attested in Ugarit Akkadian.

7   Iron Age sources related to Hiyawa are also somewhat spuriously included in Beckman et al. 2011, as AhT 28. Another Hittite text (KUB 23.21), attributed to the annals of Arnuwanda I, is deemed to refer to Hiyawa in a fragmentary context (URU*Hi-ya-*[ ]) relating to campaigns in Kizzuwatna: see Carruba 2008:66 with fn. 5 and Gander 2012:287–288. See Section 6 below for additional comments.

many in the complex political landscape of western Anatolia. The situation may have taken a different turn later, in the early 13th century BCE, when more direct political engagements seemingly took place, most famously in the so-called Tawagalawa Letter (AhT 4 = CTH 181). This text is in fact interpreted as the final part of a long diplomatic dossier sent by a Hittite Great King, now generally identified with Hattušili III,[8] to an unnamed Ahhiyawan colleague. Unsurprisingly, the interaction between the two rulers revolved around events taking place in western Anatolia: Piyamaradu, a notorious foe already active under Muwattalli II, was again causing turmoil among Hittite western allies, apparently with the support of the king of Ahhiyawa.[9] The main refuge of Piyamaradu was in fact Millawanda, the likely Hittite name of Miletus, which by the times of Muwattalli II had become an Ahhiyawan foothold on the Ionian coast. The surviving part of the dossier begins by mentioning an appeal made to Hattušili III by loyal refugees from Lukka fleeing from Piyamaradu. By contrast, hostile Lukka people sought support from Tawagalawa, the brother of the unnamed addressee of the dossier, who came to Millawanda to arrange for their transportation.[10] With the *Tawagalawa Letter*, the sender aimed to convene with the addressee over a common solution of the Piyamaradu affair, which would have paved the way for a more stable power balance in western Anatolia.

A highly controversial passage of the *Tawagalawa Letter* features in l. i 71, where the title *Great King* follows the name Tawagalawa after a temporal conjunction (ᵐ*Tawagalawaš=pat=kan kuwapi* LUGAL.GAL). Based on this passage it is generally agreed that in the *Tawagalawa Letter*, Hattušili III dealt with his Ahhiyawan counterpart on equal terms, according him the status of Great King.[11] This would also be inferred from the general tone of the dossier,

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8   See, lastly, Heinhold-Krahmer and Rieken 2020:366–376.

9   On Piyamaradu, see Gander 2022:399–408, with references to previous literature.

10   The name Tawagalawa is generally interpreted as a rendering of the Greek name Eteokles (Ἐτεοκλῆς), also attested in Linear B as *E-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-yo*: see now Heinhold-Krahmer and Rieken 2020:67, with further references.

11   Depending on different interpretations, the Great King of l. I 71 may be Tawagalawa himself or the addressee of the dossier. The first case is preferable because it is suggested by a plain translation of the passage in question, but it would also imply that the sender of the *Tawagalawa Letter* recognized two Great Kings in Ahhiyawa: Tawagalawa and his brother (i.e., the addressee of the dossier). Miller (2010), followed by Weeden (2018) and Heinhold-Krahmer and Rieken (2020:135–142), subscribe to this solution and propose that Tawagalawa was a former king and his brother/addressee, his successor. Hoffner (2009:305), instead, followed by Beckman et al. (2011:105), prefers the second solution, offering a more forceful interpretation of l. 71: "when Tawagalawa himself, (as representative of?) the Great King …" For a different interpretation, attributing the reference to the Great King in this passage to the Hittite sender, see Sommer 1932:6, followed by Singer 1983:212.

complying with the standards of relations among peers. The addressee, in fact, is consistently referred to as *my brother* by the sender, as usual in Late Bronze Age epistolary conventions among Great Kings. Notably the same feature also characterizes Hittite–Ahhiyawa relations in the fragmentary letters AhT 6 (KUB 26.91) and AhT 10 (KUB 23.98), of uncertain date.

The evidence of the *Tawagalawa Letter* in regard to the political status of Ahhiyawa is generally coupled with that of the Treaty of Tuthaliya IV with Šaušgamuwa of Amurru (AhT 2 = CTH 105), where the toponym Ahhiyawa is expounded by an erasure from the list of countries equal to Hatti (iv 2–3). In fact, according to Bryce (2005:308–309, 2018:196), this circumstance reflects an actual loss of status by Ahhiyawa, consequent to a territorial retraction from Anatolia apparently hinted at in other documents attributed to Tuthaliya IV (e.g., the *Milawata Letter*). The evidence, however, should not be overstretched. As pointed out by Giusfredi (2021–2022), the reference to Ahhiyawa may be a mere lapsus promptly corrected by the scribe. Indeed, while compiling the list of "great" countries, the scribe was perhaps already prefiguring—and eventually misled by—a regulation occurring later in the treaty (IV 23–24), banning Ahhiyawan trade with Assyria from transiting through Amurru.

In this scenario, we can accommodate the suggestions made by Weeden (2018), followed by Giusfredi (2021–2022), that the *promotion* of Ahhiyawa to the status of Great King was a strategy pursued by Hattušili III and, perhaps, Muwattalli II,[12] in connection with the contingent instability caused by Piyamaradu's raids: unable—or reluctant—to confront the opponents in a military showdown, Hittite king(s) would have opted for a sort of *captatio benevolentiae*, aimed at softening Ahhiyawa pressure and, at the same time, paving the way for cooperation on the western Anatolian front. In any case, although it is unclear whether a Mycenaean equivalent of a *Great King* existed,[13] the use of this title in relation to Ahhiyawa should be analyzed primarily from a Hittite perspective. Another possibility to consider is that the elevation of Ahhiyawa to a rank equal to Hatti did not originate within the Hittite court, but rather derived from communications with western Anatolian intermediaries: it would have been just as natural for them to use symmetric concepts of "great kingship" when dealing with the two rivalling overlords. The separate appeals made to Ahhiyawa and

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12   If we accept the proposed dating of AhT 6 to this latter king. See Beckman et al. (2011:137–138).

13   See the maximalist views recently expressed by Kelder and Waal (2019), who would see in the *wanax* a single upper-rank paramount king ruling over multiple lower-rank *lawagetai*. This analysis reappraises the more cautious evaluations earlier proposed by Kelder (2010:45).

Hatti by the different factions of Lukka according to the *Tawagalawa Letter* may be indicative of this state of affairs.

In summary, the evidence provides no definite proof that the Hittites were consistently aware of—if at all interested in—the geopolitical realities connected with the term *Ahhiyawa*. Geographic notions of Ahhiyawa conveyed by the Ahhiyawa texts are vague and possibly, at least in part, filtered through information gathered on the western Anatolian front.[14] Yet it is also undeniable that the Hittites, at least in the 13th century BCE, recognized Ahhiyawa as an important political partner with whom to interact. As expected in this situation, relations between the two courts often involved an exchange of gifts. According to the *Tawagalawa Letter* (I 53–55), Hattušili III was disappointed not to receive them when meeting the messenger sent by the Ahhiyawan king. In another text, the letter AhT 8 (KBo 2.11), the sender takes the initiative to pull out items from the package meant for the Egyptian king for shipping them to Ahhiyawa. Mycenaean participation in an international diplomatic exchange of gifts, not only limited to Anatolia, finds a possible correlate in the shaft graves of Mycenae, which yielded a rich collection of foreign luxurious objects. These included an Anatolian-style silver stag rhyton, as well as several Egyptian, North African and Levantine imports.[15]

To a certain extent, political interactions between Anatolia and the Mycenaean world also entailed the circulation of people. Particular categories of such human *gifts* exchanged among Near Eastern and Egyptian courts during the Amarna and post-Amarna ages were craftsmen and specialized professionals (see Volume 1, Chapter 5). It is possible that similar practices also shaped reciprocal relations between the Hittite and Mycenaean courts, although they are not directly attested in extant sources. By contrast, there is some positive evidence that notable members of Hittite ruling elites could have been transferred to Ahhiyawa for indefinite periods. This is what we learn from the fragmentary prayer AhT 12 (KUB 14.2), mentioning the exile to Ahhiyawa of an unknown Hittite queen. Movements of notable persons toward Ahhiyawa, however, were definitively more frequent in the frame of Ahhiyawan relations with western Anatolian polities. According to the *Tawagalawa-letter* (I 64–65) Piyamaradu was the father-in-law to Atpa, the governor of Millawanda under Ahhiyawan rule. In a similar vein, a fragmentary passage of the letter AhT 6 appears to mention inter-dynastic marriage negotiations involving the king of

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14   As correctly observed also by Heinhold-Krahmer and Rieken 2020:136: "konnten sich die im Seewesen unerfahrenen Hethiter vermutlich kaum eine Vorstellung von der Größe Aḫḫiyawas machen."

15   Burns 2010:80–86.

Aššuwa and an Ahhiyawan (?) noble. Finally, Ahhiyawa often provided a safe refuge "in the midst of the sea" to western Anatolian rulers and warlords wanted by yhe Hittites and/or their allies, thereby causing major frictions with the Hittite court.

The potential cultural impact determined by wandering elites in eastern Mediterranean contexts should not be underestimated. Comparable circumstances, such as the transfer of Kizzuwatnean princesses within the Hittite court after the inter-dynastic marriages of the late 15th century, produced enduring effects on the contemporary Hittite scribal culture (see Volume 1, Chapter 5). To be sure, nothing similar is reflected in either Mycenaean or Hittite epigraphic records in relation to each other. An entirely different question, however, and matter of extensive scholarly debates, concerns the extent to which wandering elites may have enhanced (through oral transmission) the circulation of Bronze Age Near Eastern literary motifs, eventually leading to their possible assimilation within Homeric and Classical Greek traditions.[16] In this respect, if such cultural transfers ever occurred, they were likely less the result of direct long-distance relations between Mycenaean and Hittite courts than of areal contacts taking place at the respective peripheries.[17]

3   Wiluša

Due to obvious associations with the Homeric epos and the Trojan War legends, any account of the Late Bronze Age interactions between the Hittites or other Anatolians and Mycenaeans cannot escape a brief evaluation of the possible role played by the city of Troy (Fig. 8.2). The equation between the Hittite toponym Wiluša and Homeric Ἴλιος (<*ϝίλιος) was first proposed one century ago by Paul Kretschmer (1924). In the same years, Emil Forrer claimed to have found references to Troy in another Hittite place name, Tarwiša, held to correspond to Τροίη.[18] In turn, the identification of Homeric Troy with the mound of Hisarlık, on the northwestern tip of the Anatolian Peninsula, has remained virtually uncontested since the intuitions by Heinrich Schliemann and his pioneering excavations on the site in 1870–1890.

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16   E.g., Bachvarova 2016:199–218, and Rutherford 2020:87–89. See also Chapter 12 in this volume.

17   Giusfredi 2021–2022.

18   Forrer 1924a:7. In this same work (4), the author identifies Wiluša with Ἐλαιοῦσα, in Cilicia, a hypothesis now dismissed on account of the close association between Wiluša and Arzawa and the latter's secure localization in western Anatolia.

Despite many uncertainties, Hittite sources leave little doubt that both Wiluša and Tarwiša were located somewhere in western Anatolia. The two toponyms feature together among various western countries forming the so-called Aššuwa confederation, confronted in the late 15th century BCE by Tuthaliya I according to his own annals (KUB 23.11 ii 19).[19] Tarwiša is not otherwise attested in the cuneiform corpus, and its proposed association with the toponym *Tara/i-wa/i-za/i*, appearing on the hieroglyphic inscription of the ANKARA bowl in connection with a Tuthaliya Labarna, should be better left aside due to the many uncertainties regarding this document (see Chapter 2, Section 4.1). In regard to Wiluša, we are in a slightly better position thanks to the relatively more frequent attestations of this toponym, which would consistently associate it with Arzawa and/or other western partners of Hatti.[20] Although none of these sources provide definitive proof for an exact correspondence of Wiluša with Schliemann's and Homeric Troy/Ἴλιος, this equation has met very few opponents in Hittitological scholarship and is retained as a general consensus.[21]

Concerning the role of Wiluša in the interactions between Hatti and Ahhiyawa, direct evidence appears disappointingly scarce overall. There is no mention of Ahhiyawa in the most complete and informative document about Wiluša, the treaty drawn by Muwattalli II with the Wilušan king Alakšandu (CTH 76). However, this agreement may have been driven by the intent to stabilize Hittite political control over the land of Wiluša, after Piyamaradu (perhaps backed by Ahhiyawa) had caused unrest in this land during events reported in a letter of an Arzawan king (AhT 7 obv. 3–6 = CTH 191).[22] Later on, under Hattušili III, the land of Wiluša became the focus of a dispute between Hatti and Ahhiyawa, as evidenced by the *Tawagalawa Letter* (AhT 4 iv 7–9 = CTH 181). Interestingly, this appears to be the only reference to a direct conflict between the two powers. Perhaps the clearest evidence for an Aegean influence on Wiluša is represented by the Greek etymology generally recognized in the few personal names associated with this polity, especially Alakšandu (cf. Ἀλέξαν-

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19   Carruba 2008:38–38. In his recent geographic discussion of this evidence, Gander (2022: 132–164) maintains the association of Aššuwa with northwest Anatolia, but rejects its traditional localization on the Aegean coast.

20   Gander 2017:272–273.

21   However, some skepticism in this regard now seems well justified after Gander's (2022) careful revision of the entire Hittite textual evidence on western Anatolia: see the author's own comments on this matter (Gander 2022:249). For the more *traditional* geographical understanding, see Starke 1997; Easton et al. 2002:98–100.

22   Houwink ten Cate 1983–1984, Beckman et al. 2011:143–144. Against this interpretation of the Manapa-Tarhunta letter, see Gander 2022:382: "bloße Spekulation."

δρος) and Kukkunni (cf. Κύκνος). The Alakšandu treaty also famously mentions among the divine witnesses of Wiluša the god ᵈ […] x-*appaliunaš*,[23] almost unanimously associated with the Greek god Apollo.[24] Notably, these connections also provide customary arguments for the identification of Wiluša with Homeric Troy, because Alexander was another name of Priam's son, Paris, and Apollo the main deity siding with the Trojans. In the Late Bronze Age phases of Troy, represented by the "settlements" VI and VIIa, Aegean influences are especially reflected in abundant Mycenaean imports.[25]

In the Alakšandu treaty, Wiluša is treated on a par with other polities of the Arzawa complex as a regular diplomatic partner of Hatti since the times of Šuppiluliuma I. Such relationships find very few correlates in the abundant archaeological record from Troy VI–VIIa. In fact, these phases attest to local material cultural horizons having very little to share with central Anatolian frameworks and virtually no trace of contact in this trajectory.[26] The only remarkable exception is represented by a biconvex bronze seal with hieroglyphic inscriptions identifying its owners as a scribe and a noble woman (BONUS₂.FEMINA) of unclear names.[27] Being the sole epigraphic record from pre-Classical Troy, this finding aroused much interest in the academic community, leading to speculations about the presence at Troy of a Hittite chancery or even of a Luwian linguistic substrate.[28] Such hypotheses based on an individual object seem quite far-fetched, especially considering that Late Bronze Age levels at Troy are quite extensively explored. Were a detachment of the Hittite administration permanently active on the site, more sizable traces of it would be expected to appear in the extant record, such as in the form of sealed clay bullae. Moreover, the seal in question comes from a stratigraphic context attributed to the second half of the 12th century BCE (Troy VIIb), when the Hittite central administration was already gone. According to a recent analysis, several characteristics of the seal and its inscription may even suggest that the artifact was in itself an early post-Hittite production.[29] The Troy seal is

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23   The vertical strokes visible after the lacuna are compatible with a reading *a*: see Yakubovich 2010a:121.

24   Rediscussing all these connections, Yakubovich (2010a:122–123) assumes an Anatolian origin of the name Kukkunni, from which the Greek name Κύκνος attributed to a Trojan ally in the Homeric tradition would have derived, being later associated by folk etymology to the Greek word for "swan."

25   Mountjoy 2017. For a Mycenaean seal, see Korfmann 1996.

26   Pieniążek et al. 2020.

27   Hawkins and Easton 1996.

28   See Starke 1997, Aro 2003:287, Bryce 2006:117–122, with further references therein.

29   Mora 2016.

even less meaningful to the assessment of the local linguistic substrate. Due to their transportability, seals and other small inscribed objects do not necessarily have any bearings on the determination of the indigenous linguistic make-up of their finding context, especially when they occur in isolation, as in the case of the Troy seal. Moreover, use of Luwian hieroglyphics was customary in glyptic traditions of Anatolian derivation, which spread across an extensive area through various mechanisms, including trade and inheritance, with no necessary implications on sociolinguistic scenarios.[30] On the other hand, evidence for a Luwian presence at Troy based on the Homeric material is limited and debatable, and information on Wiluša adds very few clues in this regard.[31]

4   Sea Peoples and Philistines: An Aegean migration?

As mentioned (Chapter 2), by around 1200 BCE the official buildings and main residential areas of Hattuša were completely abandoned and cleared of their mobiliary. The Hittite Empire collapsed, as too did the network of Mycenaean palaces, while many other polities and empires that had hitherto dominated the political landscape of the eastern Mediterranean, including Egypt and Assyria, entered a phase of political and social instability. The complex implications of this crisis, which scholarly conventions take to mark the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, have been explored in Chapter 2. Here we will briefly examine the cultural impact of an important phenomenon associated with this dramatic phase, the arrival of the so-called *Sea Peoples*, and its possible connections with the Aegean.

A conspicuous body of documentary evidence from disparate places, dated between the 13th and early 12th centuries BCE, concur to depict a situation of unrest in the eastern Mediterranean, attributed to the seaborne attacks of various foreign groups.[32] By far the most famous portrait of the situation is the Medinet Habu inscription of Ramses III dating to his eighth regnal year (1175 BCE).[33] This inscription, accompanied by the figurative representation of

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30   Yakubovich 2010a:126. On the distribution of Anatolian glyptic traditions in the Late Bronze Age, see Mora 1987 and Glatz 2009, 2020:197–227. See also Mora 2022 on the spread of Luwian hieroglyphic in the Late Bronze Age.

31   For thorough discussions on this matter, see Neumann 1999, Yakubovich 2010a:117–129.

32   For a recent synthetic treatment of this corpus and the related debate, see Knapp and Manning 2016:118–123.

33   Redford 2017:21–41.

a naval and land battle, recounts Pharaoh's successful defense against a coalition of peoples coming from "isles in the midst of the sea"—here the common designation of Sea Peoples—who allegedly arrived en masse to the Nile delta after sweeping various countries, including Hatti, Kizzuwatna (Kode), Karkemiš, Arzawa, and Alašiya. The invaders are assigned various ethnic designations, namely Pelešet, Tjekker, Šekeleš, Denyen, and Wešeš. To these, we may add the Šerden (or Šardana), who appear in the parallel description of the same event featuring in the Papyrus Harris I.

Egyptian sources on seaborne attacks along the coast appear to be corroborated by various broadly coeval texts found at Ugarit and elsewhere. In a diplomatic exchange (RS 20.238 and RS 20.18),[34] the rulers of Ugarit and Alašiya (Cyprus) inform one another about the raids of vaguely defined "enemy ships" that are sweeping their coast. In RS 20.238 the king of Ugarit also laments the depletion of his military resources, for his troops were deployed in Hatti and his navy in Lukka—likely in response to a call by the Hittite overlord. In another dispatch (RSL 1),[35] an unnamed king of an unnamed country, perhaps Karkemiš, downplays a request for support against seaborne attacks, relying on the capacity of the king of Ugarit, whose name is also unknown, to face the threat with his own forces. As with RSL 1, the rulers involved in RS 20.238 are also not named, while RS 20.18 was sent by the otherwise unknown Ešuwara, a royal official (MAŠKIM.GAL) of Alašiya. Based on the location of its findspot in the destruction level, RS 20.238 is traditionally dated to the very last days of Ugarit, although this conclusion has now been proven unwarranted.[36] In connection with the chronological problem, Singer (2006) draws attention to the companion letters RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523, whereby the Hittite overlord urges Ammurapi of Ugarit to send his ships to Lukka in order to supply *H/hiyawa*-men dispatched there.[37] As Singer argues, the envoy of ships in Lukka mentioned in RS 20.238 could be Ugarit's response to this request. This would concur to also identify the author of RS 20.238 with Ammurapi.[38] In the royal letter RS 34.129, found in the House of Urtenu, an anonymous Hittite king, perhaps identifiable with Šuppiluliuma II, seeks information about the Šikila-people "living on ships", an ethnonym that would match the Šekeleš mentioned in the Medinet Habu inscriptions. The Hittite expedition to Cyprus conducted

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34 Edited in *Ug.* V, nos. 22 and 24, respectively. For a translation (in French), see also Lackenbacher 2002:192–193.

35 *Ug.* V, no. 23.

36 See Knapp and Manning 2016:119.

37 On the *H/hiyawa*-men of these letters, see above, Section 2, and below, Section 6.

38 Singer 2006.

FIG. 10.2   The East Mediterranean during the migrations of the Sea Peoples

by Šuppiluliuma II can also be examined in this context, as a possible attempt to contain pirate attacks coming from that direction.

Cross-regional archaeological data align with written evidence in depicting the social unrest characterizing the end of the Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean (Fig. 10.1). As we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, several important Late Bronze Age sequences in the region abruptly end with major destructions or abandonment phases. At some sites, this break was followed by complete disruption or a major hiatus in the occupation. Otherwise, many of the settlements that (re)emerged in the Early Iron Age between 1200 and 1050 BCE feature remarkable innovations in their cultural assemblages, if not complete ruptures with Bronze Age traditions.

Despite being a general Near Eastern phenomenon, in coastal areas this transition assumed peculiar characters that have been addressed with multiple—and often conflicting—explanations. In the Aegean, the destructions affecting the major Mycenaean palaces of Mycenae, Tiryns, Thebes, Pylos and elsewhere,

as well as other settlements across mainland Greece and Crete between the mid-13th and early 12th centuries BCE can hardly be attributed to a single cause. For example, natural disasters, namely one or more earthquake(s), are now credited for the fall of Mycenae and Tiryns, while virtually no sites feature incontrovertible proof of enemy attacks.[39] In any case, after these events, the Mycenaean palatial network that had dominated the Aegean during the 14th and 13th centuries collapsed together with its administrative system, including the use of the Linear B script. In the Levant, the Ugarit sequence attests to an almost complete destruction by fire at some point between 1200 and 1175, after which no urban center ever again emerged on the site. Connecting this archaeological evidence with the textual information mentioned above, most scholars consider that this violent event was caused by Sea Peoples attacks.[40] In many other eastern Mediterranean locales, ranging from Cilicia to the southern Levant, destructions or abandonments clustering around 1200 BCE are followed shortly thereafter by smaller-scale occupations yielding assemblages of locally produced Aegean-style painted ceramics of the Late Helladic IIIC (LH IIIC) type, often coupled with other distinctive material cultural markers.

Based on these data, most scholars conclude that, regardless of whether they were the perpetrators of hostile military takeovers, groups of seafaring immigrants resettled former Late Bronze Age coastal cities in the aftermath of their demise. Others, instead, stress the interplay between the mercantilist practices inherent to Late Bronze Age interregional interactions and internal factors of processual change, thus downplaying the role of large-scale population movements.[41] Now generally discredited, instead, are *invasion theories* that saw the Sea Peoples as a united front of migrants who swept the entire Mediterranean coast. These maximalist views were largely influenced by an uncritical reading of the Ramses III inscription, from which the very image of Sea Peoples as a composite but well-coordinated horde ultimately derives. Similar descriptions are a common propagandistic device in Egyptian celebrative accounts. If there is any historical merit to the Medinet Habu inscription, it likely telescopes on a single canvas multiple individual episodes that may have occurred over a length of time.[42] Moreover, many of the *ethnonyms* defining the Sea Peoples in Medinet Habu and related texts also occur in earlier inscriptions, and were thus part of Egyptian narratives of the *other* before the crisis of the early 12th cen-

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39   Shelmerdine 2001, Maran 2009, Cline 2014:128–132.
40   Yon 1992; Singer 1999:730–731.
41   On the main theories informing this debate, see Knapp 2021, especially pp. 10–38. On migration theory in archaeology, see also Volume 1, pp. 29–32.
42   Sandars 1987, Cifola 1988, 1991 and 1994. For a different view, see O'Connor 2000.

tury BCE. Some decades before Ramses III, in 1208 BCE, Pharaoh Merneptah fought against a coalition of the Libyans and an heterogeneous group of foreigners "from the sea," formed by Šekeleš, Lukka, Ekweš, and Tereš.[43] Contacts with other Sea People groups can even be traced back to the 14th century BCE, if we follow proposed connections between the Denyen and the country of Danuna mentioned in the Amarna letter EA 151 (l. 52).[44] Similarly, the Šerden first appear in the Egyptian corpus in texts of Ramses II among foreign enemies or, on the contrary, as a mercenary force serving the pharaoh.[45] A growing body of evidence would suggest that the notion of Šerden was already diffused in the Levant during the Late Bronze Age and had no ethnic connotation.[46]

Discussions shaping the migrationist vs. indigenist debate have focused mostly on tracing the prime movers of the marked changes attested in the material record of the 12th–early 11th centuries BCE, leading to varying associations thereof with the Sea Peoples phenomenon. Considering the Aegean taste of LH IIIC ceramics and other features, such as fire installations, loom weights and kitchen facilities (widespread in variable proportions in several Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transitional contexts across the Mediterranean), most scholars maintain that the Sea Peoples phenomenon was determined by a series of non-synchronic movements of people stemming in large part from mainland Greece, Cyprus, and Crete. Proponents of this view align it in various ways with the visual and textual evidence associated with the Sea Peoples, especially the Egyptian sources. Thus, based on the iconography of the Medinet Habu relief, Sea Peoples ships are compared with Mycenaean oared galleys.[47] Similarly, parallels have been often stressed between the feathered helmets worn by many Sea Peoples and warrior headgears featuring in Aegean and Cypriot figurative arts of the late second millennium BCE.[48]

Additionally, associations with Homeric traditions play a prominent role in the analysis of the Sea Peoples as an Aegean phenomenon. Archaeological data confirm that Troy VIIa was destroyed in the early 12th century BCE by a violent fire, likely in the wake of an armed conflict.[49] Irrefutable evidence identifying the assailants is lacking,[50] but the legend of the Trojan War continues to

43   See the recent syntheses by Cooney 2022:299–301, and Grandet 2022:398–400, with further references to previous literature.
44   But see Simon 2015d, with reference to further literature.
45   Sandars 1987:50.
46   Mynářová 2022.
47   Wachsmann 1998:172.
48   Yasur-Landau 2012.
49   Mountjoy 1999:297–301, Blegen et al. 1958:10–13, Korfmann 2006.
50   Aslan 2009.

cast its allure on attempts at explanation.[51] Similarly, the post-Trojan War *nostoi* of Homeric heroes have been variably interpreted as fascinating yet distant echoes of the Sea Peoples' wanderings.[52]

Several etymological connections have been proposed between known Sea Peoples designations and various Mediterranean contexts, including the Aegean.[53] The Ekweš, appearing among the foreign allies of the Libyans in the Merneptah campaign of 1208 BCE, are generally equated with the Ahhiyawans/ Achaeans. The Lukka, again among the Libyan allies, referred to the namesake region of southwest Anatolia mentioned in Hittite texts, later known as Lycia. More speculative suggestions regard the Denyen, connected with the Homeric Danaoi and/or the *DNNYM* attested in Phoenician inscriptions from Cilicia (see below), and the Tereš, identified with Hittite Tarwiša (i.e., Troy) or even the Etruscans through their Greek name Tyrsenoi/Tyrrhenoi.[54] Šerden and Šekeleš have been etymologically connected to Sardinia and Sicily, respectively, while the Tjekker have been associated with the Teucri of the Troad—but supportive evidence is lacking in these cases as well.

A different case (and one that has most extensively alimented the migrationist–indigenist debate) concerns the Pelešet (Egyptian spelling: *pršt*). This group is universally held to correspond to the Biblical *PLŠT* (i.e., the Philistines) inhabiting the southern Levantine coast between Gaza and the Yarqon River (Fig. 10.1). This geographical setting is corroborated by the Onomasticon of Amenemope (ca. 1100 BCE), which mentions the Pelešet and other Sea Peoples together with the towns of Aškelon, Ašdod and Gaza, all known from the Bible as part of the Philistine *pentapolis* in addition to Ekron (Tel Miqne) and Gath (Tel es-Safi).[55] Consequently, scholars do not hesitate to designate as *Philistine* the transitional Late Bronze Age/Iron Age and IA I–II material culture retrieved in these and other neighboring sites, investigated by several decades of intensive archaeological research.[56]

As elsewhere in the Levant, the end of the Late Bronze Age at most sites of later Philistia is marked by more or less conspicuous destructions around 1190 BCE. The subsequent loosening of Egypt's grip on the region is manifested most prominently in the abandonment of major administrative and military infrastructures, starting perhaps from the final years of Ramses III. With-

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51   Rose 2014:40–43.
52   For a recent discussion, see Emanuel 2017.
53   For a synthesis, Redford 2017:113–123.
54   Helck 1971, Adams and Cohen 2013:658 fn. 11; Drews 2000:177.
55   Gardiner 1947:200–205, Adams and Cohen 2013:664.
56   For a synthesis, see Gilboa 2013 and Ben-Shlomo 2013.

out exception, the settlements that re-emerged on the ruins of Late Bronze Age structures immediately after these events display a new material culture, most prominently represented by locally produced Aegean-style painted wares (LH IIIC), regionally defined as *Philistine monochrome*. Possible Aegean(izing) influences in Philistine assemblages, however, are not limited to painted pottery. Simple cooking pots characterized by one or two handles, a shouldered shape, and flat or ring bases are connected with traditions attested in the Aegean and Cyprus. Habits of foreign derivation are also reflected in oval or rectangular hearths with pebbled floors, clay spool-shaped loomweights, and clay basins (*kalathoi*) broadly compliant with Aegean and/or Cypriot types. Ceremonial objects, such as the so-called Ashdoda clay figurine and incised bovine scapulae, reflect ritual practices with possible parallels, especially in Cyprus. Finally, a dramatic increase in the consumption of pigs recorded in some Philistine sites is also connected with an Aegean/Cypriot influence.[57] It must be stressed, however, that foreign objects in Philistia were found almost everywhere tightly interspersed with local ones. Perhaps most notably, Canaanite cooking pots (characterized by a wider open mouth) and ovens (*tabun*) generally occur alongside Aegean/Cypriot counterparts.

The mechanisms leading to the emergence of these features in Philistine horizons have been interpreted in different ways. The prevailing migrationist paradigm maintains that carriers of foreign features were immigrant communities who settled the southern Levantine coast following the demise of the Late Bronze Age political system and intermingled with the local population, thereafter contributing to shaping a new social organization.[58] These immigrants would be identifiable with the Sea Peoples attested in the textual sources—more specifically, with the Pelešet. Beside this shared notion, however, there are competing views as to the geographic origin(s) of the migration stream. Challenging the prevailing Aegean hypotheses, Killebrew (2018) and others identified the best parallels for Philistine Aegeanizing features in Cyprus or Cilicia, thereby suggesting that these places—rather than the Aegean itself—were the source of Philistine migration.[59] A bewildering array of hypotheses have also been proposed in relation to the patterns of migration and the number of people involved. Stager (1995), for example, envisaged a mass seaborne migration to the southern Levant of an estimated 25,000 Mycenaeans, whereas others argued for the expatriation of only a few elites fleeing

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57   But see the remarks by Mair et al. 2013:4–7.
58   For recent critical overviews of the relevant literature, see Singer 2012, Middleton 2015 and Knapp 2021:13–31.
59   See also Bauer 2014.

the wreck of Mycenaean palatine society.[60] In an influential monograph on the topic, Yasur-Landau (2010) proposed that the emergence of Philistine horizons in the southern Levant was the result of a massive, slow-paced migration stream of at least 5,000 Aegean commoners who transited overland across Anatolia and the Levant.

Contesting migrationist perspectives, Sherratt (1998) proposed an alternative model, according to which cultural changes in the post-Late Bronze Age southern Levant would have been the ultimate result of intensive trading relations with the Aegean, rooted in the 14th–13th centuries BCE. In this view, rather than through migration, Aegeanizing features would have been diffused in the eastern Mediterranean as part of a cultural code shared by a cosmopolitan class of maritime traders, wandering from shore to shore in search of new economic partners after the collapse of the Late Bronze Age palatine network.[61]

Overall, the evidence appears too heterogeneous to be reconciled with maximalist and unidirectional migrationist scenarios. Notwithstanding their clear Aegean-like appearance, LH IIIC pottery horizons cannot be ascribed to a single origin, because they feature in many local interpretations throughout the 12th century Mediterranean, from the Levant to Sardinia. Some forms and decorative motifs characterizing the Philistine monochrome pottery also feature substantially in LH IIIC assemblages found in Cilicia and Cyprus.[62] The Philistine monochrome repertoire also incorporates a range of non-Aegean international influences, including Canaanite, Cypriot, and Levantine traditions.[63] Yasur-Landau's model for an overland migration stream through Anatolia is untenable due to the lack of supportive evidence. There is, in fact, virtually no trace of Aegean(izing) material culture in central Anatolia during the Early Iron Age, and the few linguistic contacts attested between Greek and Iron Age Anatolian languages would hardly be compatible with a large-scale migration from the Aegean, even if only in transit.

Yet, indigenist hypotheses also eventually fail to offer a coherent framework for explaining the entire set of changes recorded in the southern Levant in the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition. The vast majority of Late Bronze Age Aegean imports in the eastern Mediterranean (LH IIIA-B) were transportation containers or vessels appreciated as symbols of prestige and thus spread across commercial networks focusing on their content or on the vessels themselves. By contrast, the repertoire of shapes characterizing LH IIIC horizons belong

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60   E.g., Karageorghis 2001.
61   For a similar perspective based on the documentary evidence, see Marazzi 2018.
62   Killebrew 1998:163, 2005.
63   Mountjoy 2010.

mostly to tableware types reflecting shared practices of liquid and food consumption that could hardly spread through trade alone.[64] Moreover, despite correctly emphasizing the shortcomings of a strict correlation between LH IIIC ceramics and ethnicity, processual scenarios of internal development become less convincing when applied to other aspects of Philistine material culture emerging in the 12th century BCE, especially those pertaining to the domestic sphere.[65] A fierce opponent of migrationist perspectives, Middleton (2015) concedes that some aspects of Philistine material culture may indeed reflect a heterogeneous community incorporating different identities, perhaps brought—at least in part—by a small number of foreigners of unknown origin. In a later paper, Middleton (2018) argued that interactions between the Levant and the Aegean through the second millennium BCE should be seen in the context of long-term mobility and connectivity. Eventually, the emergence of more flexible economic structures after the Late Bronze Age in the wake of loosening state control over trade may have offered more incentives for mobility, thereby promoting small-scale movements of people in multiple directions. Building upon this perspective, Knapp (2021) insists on notions of hybridization, entanglement, and transculturalism as frameworks to explain the material changes occurring in the 12th century southern Levant. In this view, the *Philistine complex* would have emerged out of cultural negotiations between people of different origins, appropriating local (i.e., Canaanite), foreign, and hybridized practices.[66] Similar processes likely took place in the same period elsewhere in the Mediterranean, such as Cyprus and Crete.[67]

The picture of extreme diversity evidenced by the material record finds a good match in the limited epigraphic evidence from the Philistine area. The relevant corpus amounts to approximately 40 local inscriptions, most of them very short, chronologically distributed between the 12th/11th and 6th centuries BCE.[68] Although very small, this corpus features epigraphs inscribed in a variety of scripts and attesting a multilingual onomasticon, including possible Anatolian, Greek, and Semitic names in addition to names of unknown etymology. The earliest known Philistine epigraph is the so-called Aphek Tablet (12th/11th century BCE), inscribed in a (pseudo?)script that most scholars associate with Linear A.[69] Another early inscription painted on a sherd dating to the 11th cen-

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64   Yasur-Landau 2010:194–215, Pucci 2019.
65   Yasur-Landau 2010.
66   See also Maeir and Hitchcock 2017.
67   E.g., Knapp 2008.
68   For a recent overview, see Davis et al. 2015.
69   Singer 2009.

tury BCE, from Aškelon, has been interpreted as Cypro-Minoan, although this attribution remains controversial.[70] In the 7th century BCE, scribes active in the Philistine pentapolis used an alphabetic script and language akin to Phoenician and Hebrew. One such inscription, found at Aškelon, features the title *trn*, which, if correctly interpreted, would be the epigraphic counterpart of the title *seren* that the Bible attributes to Philistine military commanders of the Davidic era. This identification would reinforce the traditional etymological connection between *seren* and Greek τύραννος, whose derivation, in turn, from Luwian *tar(ra)wanis* is currently debated.[71]

Many markers of the Philistine cultural complex that appeared in the 12th century BCE seemingly continued or gradually evolved into new forms at most Philistine sites down to at least the late 9th century BCE, giving rise to a broadly homogeneous horizon across Philistia.[72] It is important to stress, however, that the designations Philistine and Philistia occur only as exonyms in Biblical, Egyptian, Mesopotamian and, later, Greek sources. By contrast, the few epichoric inscriptions from Philistia attach local socio-political identities to individual cities, but they never attest overarching definitions equivalent to Philistine/Philistia.[73] Therefore, we should take into account the possibility that the Philistines had no unitary conception of themselves akin, for example, to the term *Hellenes* for the Greek *poleis* and their citizens. This observation must be kept mind when evaluating any presumed connection between the Philistines and the kingdom of Palastin, attested almost 600 km to the north of Philistia.

5   Philistines in the North?

As we have seen in Chapter 2, a group of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions in the northern Levant and Syria attests to the existence between the 11th and early 8th centuries of a kingdom of Palastin, centered in the Amuq valley (Fig. 2.3 and 10.1). In its early period, the territorial domain of this kingdom reached a considerable extent, encompassing the prestigious religious center of Aleppo. Due to the resemblance between the names Palastin and Philistines/PLŠT, several scholars contemplate the possibility that groups of

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70   Cross and Stager 2006, Davis 2011.

71   Zukerman 2011, Giusfredi 2009, Simon 2018a and Chapter 14 of this volume.

72   Maeir et al. 2013, with references to previous literature.

73   Lemche 2012.

Philistines, or peoples identifying themselves as such, settled the Amuq, leading to the emergence therein of a "powerful Philistine kingdom."[74]

The northern Philistine hypothesis has gained much credit in recent decades in light of the archaeological data produced by investigations at Tell Taynat, ancient Kunulua in the Amuq, and surrounding regions. As were most other areas of the eastern Mediterranean, the northern Levant was invested by deep changes during the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition (see Chapter 2). In the Amuq, the site of Alalah was abandoned or destroyed over the course of the 13th century BCE and its role as regional capital was taken over in the 10th century BCE by the adjacent site of Tell Taynat. As in contemporary Philistia, conspicuous assemblages of Aegeanizing LH IIIC pottery appeared at almost all northern Levantine sites between the 12th–11th centuries BCE, spreading as far inland as Tell Afis, in the Idlib region.[75] Out of 47 Early Iron Age sites recorded by survey in the Amuq valley, more than half (29) yielded locally produced LH IIIC pottery.[76]

Recent excavations at Taynat have allowed researchers to refine the chronological grid upon which to evaluate this picture. Here, the earliest IA I phase (FP 6c), dating to the early 12th century BCE, revealed a strong cultural continuity from the preceding Late Bronze Age in terms of pottery production and other industries. However, starting from the second half of the 12th and through the 11th century BCE (FP 6b–5), LH IIIC ceramics gained prominence against continued Late Bronze Age traditions, thus becoming a substantial feature of the local assemblage before decreasing during the 10th century BCE (FP 4–3). Toward the end of the IA I sequence (late 10th c. BCE), Aegeanizing potting traditions were abandoned, giving way to local painted wares as well as Red Slip Wares, the dominant ceramic type of Middle Iron Age Syria. Alongside LH IIIC ceramics, Aegeanizing traditions at Taynat IA I also permeate textile production as attested by the use of unperforated spool-shaped loomweights. These occur in large quantities in FP 6 and continue to appear more sporadically through the IA I–II sequence, before being eventually eclipsed after the 8th century BCE.[77]

Archaeological data would thus lend support to the prevailing idea that groups of overseas—possibly Aegean or Cypriot—foreigners settled in the Amuq and intermingled with local inhabitants in ways similar to those argued

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74   Hawkins 2009:172, Emanuel 2015.
75   For a detailed overview, see Janeway 2017:13–30. For Tell Afis, see Venturi 2000 and 2007.
76   Janeway 2017:32–33.
77   For an updated overview of the Early Iron Age evidence from Taynat, see Welton et al. 2019.

for the Philistines in southern Canaan. This scenario would in turn strengthen the etymological association between Palastin and *PLŠT*.[78] Several voices, however, have cautioned against drawing hasty conclusions in this regard. As noted by Singer (2012:465–466), in the Amuq and the northern Levant there is no definitive temporal, cultural, and/or geographical link between the appearance and spread of Aegeanizing features and Palastin records.[79] The first inscription attesting Palastin at Taynat (TELL TAYNAT 1) dates to the 10th century BCE as well as the archaeological level in which it was found (Building Period 1). By this time, LH IIIC had disappeared, and Taynat participated in material cultural networks that were eminently Syrian or Syro-Anatolian. Taita's inscriptions from Aleppo certainly offer a better chronological fit with the Early Iron Age sequence at Taynat, but their findspot is a temple entirely compliant with Syro-Anatolian traditions, with no associated Aegeanizing features. The Early Iron Age strata in which the majority of Aegeanizing finds occur at Taynat yielded very modest architecture, which can hardly be the remains of Taita's royal residence. Based on this evidence, we can even surmise that Aleppo, not Taynat, was indeed the center of Palastin during the 11th century BCE (Chapter 2). All Palastin inscriptions are written in Luwian with no discernible Greek influences, and most attested rulers of Palastin/Pattin bore genuine Anatolian names, often explicitly recalling Hittite dynastic traditions (e.g., Suppiluliuma, Lubarna, Halparuntiya, Kupapiya). Likewise, Palastin artistic traditions are in continuity with Late Bronze Age Hittite ones, with no apparent foreign influx.

In proposing an etymological link between Palastin and *PLŠT*, the final -*in* of the Luwian toponym should also be explained. The current English term *Philistines*, and the related *Palestine,* derive from later Greek attestations of the term with the ethnic suffix -ινη, first appearing in Herodotus (3.91) referring to Συρίη ἡ Παλαιστίνη, "Philistine Syria." Excluding any connection of the -*n* ending of Palastin with Greek -ινη,[80] Hawkins (2009:171) proposes that it derives from the Hebrew masculine plural *PLŠTYM* after adaptation of final -*m*, not tolerated by Luwian morphology. A more straightforward possibility, also envisaged by Hawkins (loc. cit.), is that the name *Palastin* emerged as a direct calque from an Aramaic plural in -*n*.

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78   Kahn (2011) maintains that the Palastineans were the *Pelešet* encountered by Ramses III in the land battle against the Sea Peoples.

79   For similar objections, see also Younger 2016:127–135, Osborne 2021:63–64.

80   But see Singer 2012:464: "In view of the Aegean origin of the Philistines, I think that the origin of the -*in* suffix must rather be sought in the Aegean region, and the appearance of a double ethnicon in *Palist-in-iza* should not pose a difficulty."

Although both these hypotheses have some merit, they can offer only a partial solution to the problem: assuming that the Palastineans were *Aegean* immigrants in the northern Levant related with the southern *PLŠT*, for what reasons would they have employed or readapted a *West Semitic* form of the *PLŠT* ethnonym to express their own identity in their *Luwian* inscriptions? In addressing this question, one should also keep in mind what was mentioned above: a term equivalent to Philistines-*PLŠT* is never attested as an endonym in inscriptions from Philistia itself. In the Iron Age, the name *PLŠT* is, in fact, known exclusively from neighboring sources, chiefly from Egypt and Canaan. It would take a considerable leap of faith to assume that Palastineans were the sole carriers of a Philistine unitary self-identification, unlike their alleged southern "cousins" who, by contrast, were the only people known as *PLŠT* anywhere outside their own domain. In this light, the only reasonable way to salvage the etymological association Palastin–*PLŠT* is to consider that Taita and his successors in the northern Levant appropriated a *PLŠT* exonym and employed it for their self-definition. This hypothesis would explain why they employed a West Semitic form of the name, given the spread of West Semitic languages around the area of Palastin during the Iron Age. However, the possible reasons for this choice of self-identification are difficult to divine. One scenario might be that the ruling class of Palastin was actually of foreign origin—from the Aegean or anywhere else—and borrowed *PLŠT* as a stereotype definition of *foreigner* to mark their alterity as to the local linguistic or, more generally, cultural milieu(s). The adoption of Anatolian traditions, in terms of script, dynastic names, artistic styles etc., could hardly be part of the same policy, for these features had been at home in northern Syria for a long time before the 11th century BCE and were not perceived as intrusive. It is nonetheless true that the name *Taita*, borne by the very first attested king of Palastin, has no obvious Anatolian or Semitic etymology, and may therefore be foreign to the familiar linguistic make-up of northern Syria.[81] Even so, the source language of the name *Taita* is still unknown and, therefore, cannot contribute to a more in-depth quest for the provenance of the Palastinean dynasty.

Ultimately, we cannot even ignore the possibility that Palastin and *PLŠT* were two unrelated terms resembling each other by sheer chance. In any case, the evidence would recommend disentangling the adoption of the definition Palastin from the question of an Aegean migration in the northern Levant as two independent issues, with neither having any necessary implication for the other.

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81   But see Steitler 2010 for a possible Hurrian etymology. In this case, the name Taita would not be foreign, as Hurrian onomastics had been present in the Northern Levant since the early second millennium BCE.

6   Greeks in Cilicia? The problem of Hiyawa

As we have seen in Section 2, the term *Ahhiyawa* was the Hittite equivalent of *Achaeans* and referred to the Mycenaeans and/or their representatives in western Anatolia. Most scholars retain that Late Bronze Age *Ahhiyawa*, with apheresis of initial *a-*, continued later in the toponym Hiyawa by which Iron Age Luwian inscriptions indicated the plain of Cilicia (see Chapters 3 and 4). Further support for this equation was deemed to derive from the above-mentioned letters of Šuppiluliuma II to Ammurapi of Ugarit, mentioning the *H/hiyawa*-men dispatched in Lukka.[82] According to most commentators, the notion that Cilicia came under strong Greek influence during the Iron Age would find support in other philological and linguistic arguments:[83]

1) The name Muksa (*Mu-ka-sa*), Phoenician *Mpš*, from whom Hiyawan rulers claimed descent, would be connected with the famous seer of the Greek legends credited with the foundation of numerous cities along the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia during the Trojan War, especially in Cilicia (Mopsuhestia and Mopsukrene). The occurrence of a personal name spelled *mo-qo-so* in Linear B archives from Knossos and Pylos would further corroborate at least an Aegean connection of the name.

2) In the bilingual of Çineköy, the name Hiyawa, recurring in the Luwian version, corresponds in Phoenician to the ethnicon DNNYM, which has been compared with the Greek *Danaoi* through the Egyptian *Denyen* (*dʒ-jn-jw-nʒ*).

3) The rulers' name(s) Awariku/Warika would be Greek, with different etymological interpretations depending on whether identity is perceived to exist between the two name spellings (see Chapter 3, Section 2.1.3, and below).[84]

4) On six occasions, the Phoenician version of KARATEPE addresses the god Ba'al (= Luwian Tarhunza) with the epithet KRNTRYš, which commentators would analyze as an unattested Greek adjective *κορυνητήριος, "mace-bearing." This epithet would thus constitute a parallel to the attested Phoenician hypostasis of Ba'al "of the Mace" (B'L ṢMD).

All of these arguments are generally considered in tandem with the abundant presence of Aegeanizing LH IIIC ceramics in transitional Late Bronze Age/Iron Age contexts from Tarsus and neighboring sites.[85] Both philological and archae-

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82   Singer 2006.
83   See also the synthesis by Simon 2018b:313–315, with further references.
84   Simon 2014a.
85   Lehmann 2017.

ological data would thus converge to support a migrationist view arguing that the elites who ruled Hiyawa in the Iron Age traced their origins to groups of Greek descent who settled Cilicia in the early 12th century BCE. This view would in turn be corroborated by later Greek sources, namely Herodotus (7.91), who defines the Cilicians as Ὑπαχαίοι, "Subachaeans."

As it turns out, the hypothesis of a strong Greek influence in Iron Age Cilicia is not as straightforward as it might appear; several of the arguments in its support drew criticism almost as soon as they were raised. To begin with, in an oft-cited 2012 article, Gander challenged the very equation between Ahhiyawa and Hiyawa and argued that, even assuming that the term *H/hiyawa* of the Ugarit letters referred to a toponym (see Section 2 in this Chapter), this could hardly have been Ahhiyawa because Luwian did not admit apheresis in the 13th century BCE. Gander also followed Hajnal (2003) and Carruba (2008:66–67) in restoring Hiya[wa] in a fragmentary passage of the Annals of Arnuwanda I (KUB 23.21 ii 2′–11′), relating to campaigns in Cilicia and southern Anatolia. In this purview, a toponym Hiyawa would have existed in Cilicia already in the late 15th century BCE—a period when no contact with the Greek world is otherwise attested in the region.

We should keep in mind that other possible restorations for a Hittite toponym beginning with *Hiya-* are available, as Gander himself admits, offering the example of Hiyašna.[86] Moreover it would be surprising that an unremarkable second-millennium town, attested no more than twice (counting in the *H/hiyawa*-men), not only survived otherwise unnoticed until the first millennium, but even acquired a broader geopolitical meaning encompassing the entire Cilician plain. The more so if we consider that the geography of Cilicia is otherwise quite well documented through the Hittite Empire period, when the region was known only as Kizzuwatna or Kummanni.[87]

The putative evidence for a structural apheresis in Iron Age Luwian has been proven inconsistent,[88] but, as Melchert later specified (2019b:361–362), unsystematic but genuine apheresis of foreign names was a specific feature of Luwian. This observation may potentially rehabilitate the derivation of Hiyawa from Ahhiyawa. However, the other parallel examples brought by Melchert in his study show a synchronic alternation between apheretic and regular forms that does not occur in the case of Ahhiyawa/Hiyawa. The regularity of Hiyawa

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86   Gander 2012:288 fn. 50.
87   For similar objections, see Bryce 2016:72. But see Melchert in this volume for a different interpretation retaining Gander's observations (Chapter 4).
88   Melchert 2010b, Simon 2011:259 fn. 17. For the use of this argument against the linguistic equation Ahhiyawa = Hiyawa, see Simon 2018b:315–316.

against a hypothetical Iron Age *A(h)hiyawa* appears clearer on account of the Assyrian and West Semitic names for Plain Cilicia, Que and *QW*: if an indigenous designation is to be sought behind these forms, this must be Hiyawa and certainly not A(h)hiyawa. The arguments proposed by Oreshko (2013) for reinterpreting the KARATEPE toponym *á-*429-wa/i-* as *á-HI(YA)-wa/i-*, against the otherwise unquestioned reading *á-TANA-wa/i-*, 'Adanawa,' are met with strong criticism.[89] In summary, the etymological association between Ahhiyawa and Hiyawa, although not to be excluded, is still highly uncertain, and therefore—at least for the moment—cannot be counted as proof of a Greek influence in Cilicia during the Iron Age.

The Phoenician ethnonym *DNNYM*, corresponding to Luwian Hiyawa in the ÇİNEKÖY bilingual, is almost invariably equated with Egyptian *dꝫ-jn-jw-nꝫ*, normalized Denyen, which appears among the Sea Peoples designations in the inscriptions of Ramses III and in the Onomasticon of Amenemope.[90] The latter, in turn, has been often identified with the Homeric Danaoi, thus indirectly providing further support to the hypothesis of a migration of Greeks in Cilicia. However, as mentioned above, the Denyen–Danaoi equation is speculative at best and was inspired by a general tendency, now largely abandoned, to associate the Sea Peoples phenomenon with a large-scale migration from the Aegean. Egyptian also had the term *tj-nꝫ-y-w*, normalized Tanaya, which appears together with Crete (Egyptian: Keftiu) and other toponyms of possible Aegean affiliation on a statue base of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hatan.[91] Given its context, Tanaya may be a good candidate for the Egyptian counterpart of Homeric Danaoi. However, any relationship of this term with *dꝫ-jn-jw-nꝫ*/Denyen can hardly be taken for granted, even on account of the intricacies of *group writing* in New Kingdom Egyptian orthographic conventions.[92] In summary, even if the Phoenician ethnonym *DNNYM* was perhaps related with the Denyen and, thus, the Sea Peoples, there is no firm guarantee that it had specifically Greek connections.

The challenges imposed on geographic identifications between Hiyawa/ *DNNYM* and Aegean or, more specifically, Greek contexts reopen the debate concerning many of the other elements brought in support of a strong Greek influence in Iron Age Cilicia. The interpretation of Ba'al's epithet *KRNTRYŠ* as

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89   See the debate between Yakubovich (2015a–b) and Hawkins (2015b), Simon 2015d:400–402 and 2018b:316.

90   See the literature cited by Simon 2015d:399 fn. 24.

91   Kitchen 1966, Cline and Stannish 2011.

92   But see Redford 2017:120. On *group writing*, see Kilani 2019. I am indebted to Federico Zangani for his guidance on this matter (e-mail communication, October 20, 2022).

the Phoenician rendering of Greek *κορυνητήριος, "mace-bearing," is tempting, but problematic in many respects. To begin with, the adjective *κορυνητήριος never occurs in extant records, although it is a formally correct derivative of the attested κορυνήτης. Moreover, as pointed out by Younger (2009b:16), it is unclear why a Phoenician inscription would use a Greek term to define a hypostasis of Ba'al that existed also in Phoenician (B'L ṢMD, "Ba'al of the mace"). Younger tentatively argues for a connection between KRNTRYŠ and the epithet KR, which is indeed associated with Ba'al in other two Phoenician inscriptions from Cilicia, at Cebelireis and Çineköy. This hypothesis, however, leaves unexplained the second part of the word, -NTRYŠ.

The most obvious alternative to these interpretations is that KRNTRYŠ designated a toponym, thus defining one of the many local hypostases of Ba'al. Because the word is certainly not Semitic, one may assume an Anatolian place behind the toponym, arguably not too far from Karatepe. Ancient Kelenderis, in Rough Cilicia near modern Aydıncık, offers the most straightforward match from both a geographic and linguistic point of view.[93] The epithet "of Kelenderis" may well have been used in Phoenician to identify a local variant of Ba'al/Tarhunza known in Luwian for qualities other than geographical affiliation. This would explain why the corresponding Luwian version of KARATEPE has Tarhunza "the highly blessed" (ARHA u-sa-nú-wa-mi-sá).

To be sure, this hypothesis would presuppose that a cult of Ba'al/Tarhunza was established at Kelenderis before the 8th century BCE and then made its way as far afield as Karatepe, ca. 400 km to the east. Unfortunately, archaeological evidence is not sufficient to either prove or disprove this notion. The bulk of the Iron Age materials so far retrieved at Kelenderis dates to the 8th–7th centuries BCE. On this basis, the site is deemed to have been abandoned after a documented Late Bronze Age phase and then resettled no earlier than the late 9th century BCE,[94] probably too late for its cultic milieu to be mentioned at Karatepe.[95] However, the exploration of the pre-Classical levels of Kelenderis is so far limited to a single sounding on the acropolis, which is hardly sufficient to offer a full picture of the site's Iron Age occupation. We cannot even exclude the possibility that a local cult of Tarhunza already existed at Kelenderis in the

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93 See Alt 1948, Barnett 1953:142 fn. 5, Vattioni 1968. The mismatch pointed out by Schmitz (2009:123) between KRNTRYŠ and an expected Phoenician spelling of Kelenderis (*KLNDRŠ) is not a serious obstacle: Phoenician KRNTRYŠ should be analyzed against the unknown original Anatolian toponym, of which Kelenderis is only a later Greek adaptation. From another angle, Melchert (2007:511) raised the possibility that the original name of Kelenderis "had two r's and that the l in Greek results from dissimilation."

94 Yıldırım and Gates 2007:332, Korkmaz 2016.

95 As disputed by Schmitz 2009:123 and Younger 2009b:14.

Bronze Age and later continued to be identified with this city notwithstanding possible gaps in its occupation. All in all, the only serious challenge to the interpretation of *b'l krntryš* as "Ba'al of Kelenderis" may be the uniqueness of its attestation, because this cult would have left no trace in the extant records apart from the Phoenician inscription of Karatepe. In a general balance, however, this interpretation is certainly no less plausible than a Greek etymology of the epithet *krntryš*.[96]

Greek or Aegean influence in onomastic traditions of Iron Age Cilicia is also a debated topic. The Luwian name *Muksa* as attested in KARATEPE and ÇİNEKÖY is likely an adaptation of an earlier form of the name with labiovelar (*mukʷs-*). This conservative form is preserved in Mycenaean (*mo-qo-so*), whereas few other attestations belong to Anatolian contexts, namely Hittite *Mukšuš* (appearing in the Madduwatta Text), Phryg. *Muksos* (named in an inscription found in Tumulus MM at Gordion), and Lydian Μόξος (attested in local epigraphs and various Greek sources).[97] The post-Mycenaean Greek form Μόψος results from the systematic development in *p* of the labiovelar, whereas Phoenician *mpš* most likely represents a borrowing from Greek Μόψος.[98] According to Yakubovich (2015a:37), Hittite *Mukšuš* would presume an "adaptation of the Greek labiovelar before its disappearance, since the inherited Anatolian labiovelar would have been preserved in some form in Hittite and yielded the spelling **mu-uk-ku-šu.*" The peculiar distribution of the Mok(ʷ)/psos names and their convergence into the pair Muksas/*mpš* in Iron Age Cilicia appear to indicate the existence, on both sides of the Aegean between the second and first millennia, of two parallel onomastic traditions that were perceived as identical by their users even after the phonetic separation between *p*- and *k*(ʷ)-forms of the name. In the best-case scenario, the overall evidence might support a common Aegean—but not necessarily Greek—origin of these traditions, as the name Mok(ʷ)/psos bears no transparent Greek etymology.[99]

The question of the etymology of Awariku/Warika is even more complex in that it intersects the ongoing debates on the identity or separation of the two names. Regarding them as two different spellings for the same name, Forlanini (1996) takes Warika < *Wrikiu* as the primary form, and argues for its derivation

96   Yakubovich 2015a:39 and Simon 2018b:315 eventually defend the equation *krntryš* = *κορυνητήριος*, but do not discuss other options.

97   For more details on the attestations, see Gander 2012:297–302.

98   See Yakubovich 2015a:37; *contra* Gander 2012:302.

99   Simon 2018b:319.

from Greek *Wrakios.[100] What makes this etymology enticing is that *Wrakios is the earlier form of Rhakios (Ῥάκιος), the name of the father of Mopsus, and would thus provide a further link between the Greek legends and the Hiyawan dynasty.

Contrarily, Simon (2014a, 2017b) argues for a separation between Awariku and Warika as two different names. He then analyzes the former as a Luwian compound between the verb á-, 'to make,' and an Anatolian onomastic element of unknown meaning *wariku, attested in Carian as yriq.[101] For Warika, analyzed as Wraykas, Simon (2014a) maintains the Greek etymology but, following Lipiński (2004:121–122), connects it to the onomastic form /Wroykos/ attested in the Cypriot Syllabary as wo-ro-i-qo and in Classical Greek as Ῥοῖκος. This same suggestion is supported by Yakubovich (2015a:39), who also keeps Warika separate from Awariku—for which Yakubovich instead rehabilitates an earlier proposal by Krahmalkov (2000:38–39), arguing for an etymological connection with the Greek name Εὔαρχος, literally "well governing."

Finally, a few Greek names mixed with Luwian ones have been identified in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform tablets from Tarsus, dated to the very end of the 8th and early 7th centuries BCE.[102] By this time, Assyrian royal inscriptions and archival documents also start to record an increasing Ionian (Yamnaya, pronounced /Yawnaya/) activity in the eastern Mediterranean.[103] Sargon II claims to have faced Ionian pirates off the Cilician coast in the account of his campaign of 715 BCE.[104] Based on Greek sources, an Ionian involvement has also been envisaged behind the revolt of Hilakku, in Rough Cilicia, and Tarsus, faced by Sennacherib in 696 BCE and recorded in his annals.[105]

On account of this scanty and, in many respects, uncertain evidence of Greek or Aegean traces in Iron Age Cilicia, can we still imagine that a more or less substantial Greek migration did eventually take place by the Early and Middle Iron Age, involving at least the elites? If so, what trajectories did this movement follow? Two of the most authoritative approaches to these questions, advanced by Yakubovich (2015a) and Simon (2018b), have correctly placed at the core of the problem the only secure evidence for linguistic diversity in Iron Age Cilicia, namely the use of Phoenician alongside Luwian in epichoric inscriptions. Yakubovich argues that Phoenician—and not Luwian—

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100   See also Jasink and Marino 2007:408–409.
101   Simon 2017b.
102   Schmitz 2009.
103   Rollinger 2017.
104   RINAP 2 1:117b–119.
105   Dalley 1999.

was the primary language of the Çineköy and Karatepe binguals, a view shared by Simon (2018b:326–327). Both authors also agree that Phoenician was not specifically intended to address speakers of this language, but was instead employed as an official language serving other non-Luwian groups resident in Cilicia. In fact, despite the primary use of Phoenician in the monumental inscriptions, there is no other trace of a substantial Phoenician presence in Cilicia. The onomastic material is conspicuously Luwian and (to a much lesser extent) Aegean/Greek, but no Semitic name is so far attested. Even the name of the scribe of the Phoenician inscription of Cebelireis, *PHL('')š*, appears to be Anatolian as indicated by the onomastic element *piha-*.[106] The sporadic findings of Phoenician inscriptions on small objects in Cilicia and neighboring regions as well as assemblages of "Phoenician" ceramics may be testimony of the participation of Hiyawa into eastern Mediterranean trading networks.[107] However, these sparse materials are hardly proof that Phoenician speakers constituted the primary audience of the Hiyawan monumental inscriptions.[108]

Where the interpretations of Simon and Yakubovich differ is on the specific identification of the non-Luwian foreigners and the processes that brought them to Cilicia. Yakubovich starts from a migrationist perspective and maintains that Greek settlers who arrived in Cilicia in the wake of Sea Peoples migrations and the collapse of the Hittite Empire became a socially dominant group, eventually becoming integrated into the ruling elites of Hiyawa. On this basis, and on account of ethnolinguistic parallels, Yakubovich argues that Phoenician was used by members of this Greek elite in order to distance their cultural identity from that of the broader Luwian population. By contrast, Simon's reasoning starts from the consideration that there was no Greek colonization immediately after the collapse of the Hittite Empire and that there is no evidence for a Greek presence in Cilicia earlier than the late 8th–early 7th century BCE. In this framework, Simon argues that Phoenician was not imposed by Greek elites as their identity marker, but was instead a pragmatic means of communication brought to Cilicia by foreign elites whose origins he traces to Cyprus, and not to the Aegean.

Generally speaking, the rather skeptical evaluation offered above of the putative evidence for a Greek presence in Iron Age Cilicia agrees better with

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106   Mosca and Russell 1987:21.

107   In this regard, it is worth specifying that almost all the ceramics labeled as *Phoenician* by the Tarsus excavators are in fact Cypriot stylistic imports: see Lehmann 2008:155–156.

108   For a different perspective, see Osborne 2021:73–83. On the impact of Phoenician material culture in Cilicia, see Lehmann 2008.

Simon's model. Cypriot evidence, on the other hand, offers all the clues to explain at once both the Phoenician and Aegean/Greek influences. By the beginning of the Iron Age, Cyprus already had a long history of relationships with the Levant. The earliest Phoenician inscription found on the island dates to the 11th century BCE, and a combination of archaeological and epigraphic evidence points to an important Phoenician presence therein dating to no later than the 9th century BCE.[109] Two bronze bowls probably from Amathous, dated to around the mid-8th century BCE, bear testimony to a Phoenician foundation (*Qartadašt*, lit. "new city") on the island, evidencing stable political relationships with Phoenicia also corroborated by Neo-Assyrian records.[110] Conversely, relationships between Cyprus and the Aegean were already strong in the Bronze Age, although their effect in a proper Greek/Mycenaean colonization of the island are now generally discredited.[111] At any rate, a dialect of Greek was codified around the 10th century BCE in the Cypriot Syllabary inherited from the Bronze Age.[112] Other languages were spoken and written on the island during the Iron Age (e.g., Eteocypriot), but none of them were widely known overseas, and certainly less so than Phoenician and Greek.[113]

The archaeological evidence provides strong support for the Cypriot trajectory of Greek/Aegean and Phoenician influence in Cilicia, even more than Simon himself is prepared to admit. Relationships between Cilicia and Cyprus had a long history, deeply rooted into the second millennium,[114] and also may have involved some degree of linguistic exchange, although not documented in the coeval records. The Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition in Cilicia is marked by the appearance of Aegeanizing features, especially the widespread diffusion of LH IIIC ceramics.[115] Far from evidencing a shift in connectivity toward the Aegean, as assumed by Simon, these features may be interpreted as even further proof of continued interactions with Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age–Iron Age transition.[116] As mentioned elsewhere in this chapter,

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109 Steele 2013:176–177. On Cypro-Phoenician relations, see Fourrier 2019. On Cypriot connections with the Levant in the eastern Mediterranean context during the Bronze Ages, see Knapp 2008:307–324.

110 See also Radner 2010.

111 Voskos and Knapp 2008. On the role of Cyprus in Mediterranean cultural exchanges, especially between the Levant and the Aegean, see Bachvarova 2016:301–330.

112 Iacovou 2013.

113 Steele 2013.

114 Kozal 2018.

115 Lehmann 2017.

116 Perhaps after a short interruption, as suggested by the sudden disappearance of Late

locally produced LH IIIC wares and other features of the Aegeanizing horizon occur across the eastern Mediterranean with a range of possible stylistic affiliations not limited to the Aegean. When looking at the Cilician evidence, LH IIIC wares are stylistically closer to Cypriot materials than others originating elsewhere.[117] This impression is confirmed by chemical analyses on an LH IIIC assemblage from Tarsus, which identified a distinct Cypriot signature in most non-local clays, as opposed to one single possible import from the eastern Aegean.[118] As emphasized by Simon (2018b:328), during later phases of the Iron Age, Cypriot influences on the Cilician material culture continued—and in fact intensified—eventually defining a *koine* horizon usually labeled *Cypro-Cilician*.[119] The Assyrian name of Cyprus, attested from Sargon II on, is Yadnana, and it is generally interpreted as a borrowing from a Phoenician expression meaning the "island (Phoenician y') of Adnana."[120] As Simon observes, the similarity of this name with *DNNYM* is striking, and the two terms probably had the same geographic or ethnocultural referent.

7 Concluding Remarks

Bringing together the patchy evidence examined in this chapter, documented interactions between Aegean and Anatolian socio-cultural milieus from the Late Bronze Age through the end of the 8th century BCE occurred within the frame of complex multicultural exchanges involving several linguistic environments. Relationships between Hatti and Ahhiyawa were generally mediated by western Anatolian actors, inhabiting the buffer zone between the respective political spheres. Seaborne population movements of the 12th century BCE created the conditions for the formation of cosmopolitan communities in the eastern Mediterranean, reshaping heterogeneous cultural influences (Aegean, Anatolian, Cypriot, Canaanite, etc.) into new hybrid forms with multiple combinations. The most prominent result of these processes was the development of Philistine horizons in the southern Levant, which in turn may have had an indirect effect in the formation of new political identities in the north, at Palastin, possibly through the mediation of shared West Semitic neighbors.

Bronze Age Cypriot imports in Cilicia before their presumed demise in Cyprus: Lehmann 2017:234.
117 Lehmann 2017:234–236.
118 Mommsen et al. 2011.
119 See Chapter 2, Section 4.2
120 Radner 2010:435.

Finally, some Aegean traditions with an echo in Greek legends may have made their way into the mixed Luwo-Phoenician scribal frameworks of Iron Age Cilicia, likely transmitted after intensive areal contacts with multicultural—and multilinguistic—Cyprus.

The Mediterranean Interface: Anatolia and the Aegean in the Bronze Age

Stella Merlin and Valerio Pisaniello

1 Introduction

In this chapter we will discuss some of the most relevant issues, questions, and problems related to the Mediterranean interface. In particular, we ask what can be said on the linguistic and cultural situation existed before the appearance of the alphabetic Greek and to what extent this is relevant in possible contacts with Anatolia and Anatolian languages.

Pre-Greek is introduced following the main themes and outstanding issues (Section 2); then Mycenaean in its relations with Anatolia is discussed (Section 3).

The Pre-Greek issue, in the history of research, has also been connected to the concept of substrate. If Pre-Greek is definable as a substrate, it represents one special situation, on which studies have abounded for over 120 years (see Section 2.1) during a period in which linguistic data, cultural references, and metalinguistic settings have changed. The main research question is to find an explanation for those non-Greek elements within the Greek vocabulary that resist a genuine Greek or Indo-European etymological explanation pointing to a substrate language (or group of languages) about which there are no other ways of acquiring knowledge because they are not attested. The issue concerning the existence and the definition of a linguistic substrate, geographically located in the eastern Mediterranean and possibly spread in Asia Minor, has been developed in parallel with the quest for the reconstruction of the history (and prehistory) of Indo-European languages in the areas of interest—in other words, the history and prehistory of Greek and the languages of the Anatolian branch.[1]

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1 For a commented bibliography on the Greek-Anatolian relationships, see García Trabazo (2022). For an overview and critical remarks, see García Ramón (2011). For an in-depth theoretical discussion of the possibilities of a linguistic reconstruction of possible Bronze Age Aegean-Anatolian contacts, see Morpurgo Davies (1986). Cf. also the important observations made by Garnier (2015), especially regarding the use of the term *substrate*.

2   The Challenge of Pre-Greek: Issues, Boundaries, and Limits

In essence, the challenge of defining Pre-Greek[2] lies in identifying the population(s) and language(s) of Greece before the arrival of the Greeks[3] or, in diachronic linguistic terms, the languages spoken in what would eventually become Greek-speaking areas. Scholars from diverse disciplines have sought to answer these questions from various perspectives, contributing archaeological, cultural-historical, and linguistic data that often complement one another but also sometimes lead to definitions that do not perfectly coincide.

To begin with a general, introductory definition, we could say that the term *Pre-Greek* first denotes the languages (rather than a single language; see Section 2.3) that existed before the earliest records of Greek, which, based on the earliest Mycenaean texts, date back to 1400 BCE. Although the approach to Pre-Greek evidence is primarily reconstructive (as we will show), we in fact possess texts from the eastern Mediterranean area that predate the earliest Mycenaean attestations. These are: a) Linear A inscriptions (1800–1350 BCE) attested in Crete[4] for a certain period coeval with b) Cretan hieroglyphs (1800–1600 BCE);[5] c) the mysterious Phaistos Disc (1850–1600 BCE), possibly related to the Cretan hieroglyphs;[6] and d) Cypro-Minoan inscriptions (1600–1050 BCE).[7] These texts, composed using different writing systems and still effectively undeciphered,

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2 Some scholars, e.g., Duhoux (1998) and Chantraine (DELG), prefer to use the term *Pre-Hellenic*, but this terminological distinction does not materially change the essence of the problem. For a general overview, see, e.g., Lejeune (1947). See also Consani (2008 [2010]) and Consani (2023).

3 By this we implicitly assume, as do the majority of scholars (especially historians and archaeologists), that Greeks settled in the Greek peninsula and islands during migrations of Indo-European people; see Drews 1988. For the study of the substrates and linguistic contacts triggered by the diffusion of Indo-European-speaking people in Europe, Mediterranean, and Anatolia from the third millennium BCE onwards, see Kroonen, ed, 2024.

4 Cf. Palaima and Bibee 2014. See also the recent discussion on the invention of writing in the Aegean by Ferrara (2017).

5 Ferrara 2017; Decorte 2017 with further references.

6 See Duhoux 1977, 2000 with references. Although numerous attempts have been made to decipher the text on the Phaistos Disc, we will refrain here from proposing a full history of the studies. Let it suffice to say that no attempt has yet been successful.

7 After Masson 1971 and further revisions (Olivier 2007), Cypro-Minoan inscriptions are generally divided into four groups: CM0 (Enkomi tablet, end of the 16th century BCE; for an analysis see Duhoux 2000), CM1 (various texts, attested throughout the Late Bronze Age), CM2 (three tablets from Enkomi, 12th century BCE), and CM3 (tablets from Ugarit, 13th century BCE, influenced by Ugaritic cuneiform alphabetic script). For a different chronological view and for the corpus, see Ferrara 2012, 2013. See also Steele 2013. For the history of the early scholarship, see Donnelly 2020.

attest to the presence of unknown languages whose origins and possible affinities with other known languages continue to be sought by researchers. Starting from the observation that these texts are coeval with the Anatolian languages of the second millennium BCE, Anatolian hypotheses for deciphering have been suggested in an attempt to find a plausible linguistic explanation. In particular, scholars have sought to recognize—with little or no success—an Anatolian language behind such a writing system: it was Luwian for Georgiev (1963), Palmer (1958, 1965:333–338), and Brown (1992–1993); Hittite for Davis (1967); and Lycian for Finkelberg (1990–1991 and 2001).[8]

Before moving on to the next section, it is worth mentioning also three extra-Greek languages attested for the first millennium and therefore coeval to alphabetic Greek. They clearly do not fall within the timeframe of Pre-Greek as we defined it at the beginning of this section, but they could nonetheless affect the problem of substrate(s), should it be proven that they were continuations of earlier Pre-Greek languages. The first is the so-called Lemnian language of the funerary Lemnos Stele, 6th century BCE, as well as some other minor inscriptions. This language, as first proposed by Rix (1998), could belong to the Thyrrenian (or Thyrsenian) language family, also including Etruscan and Rhaetic.[9] The second is the Eteocypriot language (700–300 BCE),[10] and the third is Eteocretan (700–200 BCE).[11]

However, research explicitly directed at Pre-Greek has only marginally involved these languages, both those that are actually Pre-Greek from a chronological point of view (because none have been deciphered) and those that are coeval with alphabetic Greek (because they are, by definition, not Pre-Greek, even though they may be the result of earlier influences). Indeed, research on Pre-Greek has focused (within the framework of historical linguistics and following the methods of contact linguistics as well as the theory of substrate) on those non-Greek elements that are present in the Greek lexicon and have neither a Greek nor an Indo-European etymology, which could therefore represent positive traces of an unattested Pre-Greek substrate. Consequently, research on Pre-Greek has been directed toward capturing a set of formal anomalies within the Greek lexicon, even to the point of proposing attempts to reconstruct that substrate, as both Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages.

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8   The other proposals are Greek (Georgiev 1957, criticized by Lejeune 1957 and Nagy 1963), Semitic languages (Gordon 1957) such as Phoenician (Best 2001), Indo-Iranian (La Marle 2006), Thyrrenian (Facchetti and Negri 2003, recovering an idea from Ventris, see Ventris and Chadwick 1953), and Hurrian-Urartian (Monti 2002).

9   Cf. Duhoux 2014a, with further references. See also de Palma (2007).

10   Cf. Duhoux 2014b, with further references.

11   Cf. Duhoux 1982, 2014c, with further references.

2.1 *From Pelasgic to Pre-Greek*

History of research in the Pre-Greek substrate during the 20th century has seen deep paradigmatic changes concerning the ancient Aegean and Anatolian world, especially determined by the identification of Hittite as an Indo-European language (1917) and that of Mycenaean as an ancient attestation of Greek (1952). At the end of the 19th century, Paul Kretschmer (1896, 1940–1943) found morphological correspondences between Greek and Anatolian place names (see Section 2.2.2), arguing for a Pre-Greek substrate in which non-Greek and non-Indo-European features were at work.[12] Archaeological research (e.g., Haley 1928) has sought to identify the civilization associated with such a substrate, concluding that it must predate the stage at which Greek-speaking populations would have arrived in the Aegean.

The term *Pelasgic* for indicating the Pre-Greek substrate was revived (from ancient times)[13] in the late 1930s, when Georgiev developed the so-called *Pelasgian theory*, wherein he identified a series of phonetic laws that led from PIE to Pelasgian producing words that are different from Greek but still perfectly Indo-European, such as PIE *$d^h m b^h os$ > Pelasg. *$túmbos$ (which appears in the Greek τύμβος) as an isogloss of the Greek τάφος (Georgiev 1948; see Section 2.2.1). Around the mid-20th century, Van Windekens (1952, 1960) deepened the research assuming the same Pelasgian terminology, while other contributions appeared by, e.g., Merlingen (1955), Haas (1959), and Heubeck (1961). Heubeck in particular reinforced the basic idea of the Indo-European nature of the Pre-Greek substrate. Hester (1968) published a summary (with references) of the advances made up to that time; he also contributed to the discussion by proposing a cautious approach, mostly because the paucity of data, insufficient to depict a definitive scenario.[14]

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12   It is worth remembering that for Kretschmer the alphabetic Anatolian languages (the only languages known at that time as attested in Western Anatolia) do not belong to the IE language family. See e.g. Kretschmer (1896:289).

13   *Pelasgians* is the name found in ancient sources—especially in descriptions that mix mythological traditions with information about historical reality—referring to people living in Greece before the Greeks. In particular, the existence of Pelasgians is claimed by Homer (*Od.* 19.179) and Herodotus (1.56–58), who then influenced later authors; however, they were alternatively described in the ancient sources as non-Greek peoples who lived in the Aegean Sea before the Greeks (e.g., by Herodotus) or, contrarily, as the ancestors of the Greeks or as the Greeks themselves (most notably by Ovid, *Met.* 12.1).

14   "The tentative nature of the theories discussed above does not permit any firm conclusions at this stage. As far as a *communis opinio* can be said to exist, it is that Greek probably contains both place-names and vocabulary words which are borrowed from both Indo-European and non-Indo-European sources; and that we must proceed with caution" (Hester 1968:234–235). It is worth noting the terminology of *borrowing* from a substrate,

Since the 1970s, the old idea of a completely non-Indo-European substrate has been resurgent: Furnée (1972) has collected a number of lexical entries, establishing specific phonetic features and correspondences that would corroborate a non-Indo-European origin.[15] His work is recognized as the starting point of Beekes's later research, and thus Furnée's contributions frequently arise in the recent *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (EDG). However, Furnée's work may not have the uniformity that Beekes attributed to it: as Silvestri (1977–1982:125–126) observed, his *vorgriechisch* should instead be understood as a non-homogeneous set of *vorindogermanische Elemente*.[16]

As for the terminology, apart from *Pelasgic*, the general term recurring in German is *Vorgriechisch*, which can in fact apply to a Proto-Greek (or Early Greek) as well as to a non-Greek (possibly non-Indo-European) language. French scholars, such as Chantraine in the *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque* (DELG), preferred the expression *substrat pré-hellénique* or *méditerranéen*; the latter is also found in earlier studies, such as Cuny (1910), as well as in the Italian studies on the problem of the *sostrato mediterraneo* (e.g., Bertoldi 1937; Alessio 1944–1945; Devoto 1954, 1961) or *indo-mediterraneo* (e.g., Pisani 1938; Belardi 1954; Silvestri 1974).[17] However, although the term *Pelasgic* has fallen completely out of use, the research perspectives associated with it have not. Recent works, such as Mihaylova (2016) or Garnier and Sagot (2017), have shown that ongoing research continues searching for alternative but consistent etymologies of the *eccentric* Greek lexicon that can trace the anomalous forms back to an earlier language with well-defined characteristics. For Mihaylova (2016), it would be an Indo-European Paleo-Balkan language, whereas Garnier and Sagot (2017) shift the focus farther west by identifying a substrate Indo-European language of the western Mediterranean common to Greek and Italic. This wealth of different labels, concepts and definitions,

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although it has recognized that the effects of the substrate are mostly on the phonomorphological level. This accounts for the variety of theoretical approaches to the issue of Pre-Greek.

15   See also Heubeck 1974.

16   See Silvestri (1977–1982:96–139) for a history of studies up to that time. An insightful consideration, among many others, is to consider the contributions of Menéndez Pidal (1939) and Nencioni (1940) as determining the final dismissal of the notion of a Mediterranean unitary substrate. It must be acknowledged that not all research has moved in the same direction, and that elements of variations are not always covered in contemporary studies of the Pre-Greek substrate.

17   For an overview on the Mediterranean substrate question and its relationships with Semitic languages, see Durand (1993). See also Silvestri (1977–1982) for a general discussion of the theory of substrate, with particular reference to ancient languages.

each referring to (part of) the same historical object, clearly indicates a complex situation in which scholars working from different perspectives have failed to produce a consistent, coordinated effort.

2.2   *In Search of Parallels between Pre-Greek and Anatolian*

For more than a century of research, scholars have compared Anatolian languages to Pre-Greek in search of answers, or at least connections, to the Pre-Greek question. The issue of putative relationships between Pre-Greek and Anatolian has accompanied many developments in Anatolian linguistics, giving rise to descriptions and models that differ greatly from one another. In addition, interpretations varied a lot, depending on how aware the different scholars were of the advancements in the field of Anatolian studies). From the point of view of our research, the fundamental questions—to which many different answers have been offered since the end of the 19th century—are as follow: 1) How can the languages spoken (attested or not) in Greece before the arrival of the Greeks be linked in scholarly research with the coeval languages spoken in western Anatolia? 2) What phenomena in scientific research have been indicated as evidence for the presence of substrates, adstrates, or other patterns of language contact?

2.2.1   Phonetics and Phonology

Through historical phonology—the basis of the comparative method—we can engage in internal reconstruction, compare isoglosses, and establish the reconstructed proto-Indo-European forms. Historical phonology, and more specifically the study of sound change, allows us to distinguish what is regular (or expected) from what is not—that is, cognate forms from those features that entered the lexicon of a given language not through filiation, but through language contact. One recurring claim in research on Greek vocabulary is that a vast number of Greek words cannot be traced back to a solid Greek or Indo-European etymology. In some cases, this fact has appeared to be a sufficient condition for attributing these words to a Pre-Greek substrate; according to this logic, Pre-Greek would be only what cannot be traced etymologically back to Greek because it eludes the phonetic laws and the historical phonology determined for the Greek language.

Some scholars have attempted to establish other phonetic laws that might account for the etymology of this portion of the lexicon, without departing from the Indo-European framework: Georgiev (1948) identified a series of sound changes from PIE to Pre-Greek (PG) to explain part of the obscure etymologies of Greek words, among which the shift of PIE *o* into PG *a*; the preservation of PIE *s* in prevocalic and intervocalic position; the delabialization of

labiovelars (PIE *k^w, *g^w > PG *k, *g); and the consonant shift (represented in form of a *Lautverschiebung* in PG context) for which PIE *p, *t, *k > PG *p^h, *t^h, *k^h; PIE *b, *d, *g > PG *p, *t, *k; PIE *b^h, *d^h, *g^h > *b, *d, *g.[18] This perspective implies that the Greek forms would be borrowed from the non-attested Pre-Greek substrate, which is nonetheless a *regular* output of PIE according to specific phonetic laws that differ from those occurring between PIE and Greek. In the same attempt to establish consistent and regular sound changes, albeit with different results, Mihaylova (2016) reconsidered the phonetic *irregularities* from the perspective of ancient Balkan languages—allegedly Thracian, Phrygian, and Macedonian—offering a proposal that agrees with the hypothesis of a single substrate language, at least for those Pre-Greek words that appear to be consistent with an Indo-European analysis.[19] In the same direction of a single substrate language, albeit of a different kind, Garnier and Sagot (2017) identified a different substrate language, which they (quite unsurprisingly) supposed to be a *centum* (and not *satem*) Indo-European language, spoken (but unattested) in the western Mediterranean, which can account for obscure etymologies for both Italic and Greek.

Palmer's (1980) view is particularly relevant for the research on possible Anatolian connections with Pre-Greek: he mentions "an age-long cultural drift from Asia Minor" (1980:9) proved by archaeological evidence to which linguistic evidence would allegedly correspond. After having discussed suffixes found in both Greek and Anatolian languages (see Section 2.2 below), he also collected evidence concerning phonemic patterns: because the word final plosives are lost in Greek (e.g., *γαλακτ- > γάλα) and final *$/m/$ > $/n/$, the only consonants that could occur in final position are $/s/$, $/n/$, $/r/$. This is almost the same for Anatolian, wherein $/l/$ must be added. Moreover, initial *$/r/$ is impossible in both Greek and Anatolian (as well as in other languages of the Ancient Near East).[20] In Palmer's hypothesis, these putative phonetic correspondences would be the result of a Luwian[21] substrate in Greek, thus supporting the view that "speak-

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18   Katičić (1976:39–97) discussed Georgiev's proposals and examples, including the reassessment by Hester (1957, 1965). This chapter of Katičić (1976) constitutes an insightful survey of the scholarly research until that time. See also Mihaylova (2016).

19   Mihaylova (2016:308) adds a genetic argument to her proposal mentioning the findings of King et al. (2008). Accordingly, there would have been affinities between mainland Greece and the Balkans as well as between Crete and Anatolia rooted in the Neolithic. However, genetic data should be approached with a degree of caution because they inform us primarily about the populations and not the languages they used.

20   On these possible phenomena of convergence, see Volume 1, Chapter 15, Section 1.2 with references.

21   In Palmer's book, *Luwian* apparently refer to Luwic languages, rather than the single

ers of different Anatolian dialects were involved in the occupation of Greece" (Palmer 1980:16). Nevertheless, it must be said that this position is not widely accepted today.

Other phonetic features have been invoked for the study of a putative Greek-Anatolian linguistic area (e.g., Watkins 2001; Romagno 2015; Bianconi 2015),[22] among which the assibilation of PIE verbal ending *-*ti* (athem. pres. 3sg.) in Greek -σι has its counterpart in Hittite -*zi*, which, however, does not occur in Luwian, where the same ending is a non-assibilated -*ti*.[23]

In EDG, phonetic alternations are among the most relevant features to recognize words as Pre-Greek (PG). As described in Beekes (2014:4–26), the phonemic system of PG has some characteristic features in both consonant and vowel variation—most of which, as observed by Garnier (2015), are posed quite axiomatically and without detailed argumentation. As for the consonant system, voiceless plosives would alternate and interchange with voiced as well as aspirated ones, for which no apparent conditioning factors are identified. Thus, voice and aspiration, according to Beekes (2014:4), would not be distinctive features in Pre-Greek. This Pre-Greek alternation would be similar to features of some Anatolian languages, such as Lydian, where the likely allophonic distinction of [p] and [b] is concealed by the use of the single grapheme ⟨p⟩ to write both. However, it is worth remembering that the term *Anatolian* is used by Beekes in a very broad sense, including not only Anatolian languages in genealogical sense, but also (sometimes even primarily) in a geographic sense, with reference to both Greek and proper Anatolian forms attested in Anatolia.[24] The discussion on the relationships between Greek, Pre-Greek, and Anatolian lies at the core of Beekes's research. As Beekes (2014:3) concedes, "In most cases […] it is impossible to distinguish between substrate words and loans from Asia Minor (the latter are from a later date)." According to him, as a general rule, one should refer to uncertain words as *Pre-Greek* unless positive evidence exists for an analysis as loans from a specific language of Asia Minor or other neighboring regions. Furthermore, even when similarities exist that would point to a common origin for a Greek word and for a word from one or more Anatolian languages, unless a clear regular etymology can be found,

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Luwian language. Another explanation of the same phonetic correspondence is that of an areal convergence. See also Finkelberg (2006:42–64).

22   The focus of these studies is not Pre-Greek, yet they necessarily show points of connection and affinity with studies on the prehistory of the Greek language.

23   See Cotticelli (2021:12). Cf. also Chapter 12.

24   For this remark, see also Simon (2018a:376). For a general comment on EDG, see in particular Meissner (2014) and Simkin (2011). For a comment on single etymologies, see De Decker (2016).

one should not exclude the idea that a non-Indo-European common substrate may have acted as the source for independent borrowings (such a case could be exemplified by the pair Greek τολύπη and Hittite *taluppi-*, described by Beekes as formally *Pre-Greek* because of the vowels /a/ and /u/, but which we might more cautiously characterize as not transparently analyzable as Indo-European). However, despite his own call for caution, Beekes (2014:4–25) proceeds to develop a full reconstruction of the phonology and phonotactics of what he calls the Pre-Greek language. His reconstruction is sensibly based on the recognition of phonotactic patterns that are not possible—or at least, very rare—in Indo-European as we reconstruct it today, and that would appear to be regular in the thesaurus of Pre-Greek words.

Nevertheless, such alleged regularity is often limited to a small number of examples, and, all in all, nothing proves that we are dealing with the consistent phonological system of a unique substrate language. From the perspective of phonology and phonotactics, Pre-Greek still appears as a fairly large set of unusual lexical items of Greek that can only be categorized in a systematic fashion.

2.2.2　　　Morphology

At the dawn of scholarly research into Pre-Greek, Kretschmer (1896:401–409) first observed that the Greek suffix -νθ-, for which a foreign origin had already been recognized, was recurrent in the common Greek lexicon (e.g., λαβύρινθος, 'labyrinth'; μήρινθος, 'cord, line, string'; μίνυνθα, adv. 'a short time') but also in onomastics (e.g., Ξάνθος) and especially in toponyms (e.g., Ζάκυνθος, 'Zakynthos'; Κόρινθος, 'Corinth'). He had also previously provided parallels from Asia Minor, such as Ἄλινδα, Πίγινδα, Κάλυνδα, in order to clarify the etymologies of similar Greek toponyms, which are often obscure. He thus established a phonetic correspondence between -νθ- and -*nd*-. A second class of toponyms, namely those in -σσ- (e.g., Κνοσσός, Παρνασσός), are also found in Greek territory. In this case, however, according to Kretschmer (1896:405), it is more difficult to identify the dividing line between Greek and Pre-Greek because this suffix, unlike -νθ-, is not at all foreign to Greek (e.g., δισσός 'double, twofold'; περισσός 'beyond the regular number, out of the common'; ἔπισσαι 'set upon'; for which a Greek, Indo-European etymology is well established).

Despite frequent references to possible Greek renderings of Eastern phonemes, the final picture resembles that of a substrate common to both Greek and the languages of Asia Minor. For example, in an insightful discussion concerning the Gr. λαβύρινθος and the Carian Λάβραυνδος,[25] after discarding the

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hypothesis of a direct Carian borrowing on linguistic and cultural grounds, Kretschmer (1896:404–405) integrates archaeological and epigraphic data (in particular, the double ax symbol found in Crete's caves) to complete the picture and reach the conclusion that -νθ- is a suffix belonging to the language of the aboriginal populations (in the terms of Kretschmer and his contemporaries, these were the aboriginal Carians of Crete). At the time of Kretschmer's research, Hittite remained undeciphered and the whole Anatolian group— although the alphabetic languages of the first millennium were known to the scholarship—was not yet unanimously recognized as belonging to the Indo-European family. Giving this specific historical and scientific context, Kretschmer (1896) concludes that the Pre-Hellenic substrate was of a non-Indo-European type and common to both sides of the Mediterranean Sea.[26]

Of course, this narrative is now outdated.[27] Nevertheless, there is no doubt that such research paved the way for a new understanding of the Greek language—not as a stand-alone entity, but rather within the framework of its relations with surrounding languages and possible substrata. Laroche (1957), following previous proposals (e.g., Forrer 1921), stated that the -ss- suffix in the languages of Asia Minor should be identified with a Luwian derivational suffix: thus, the toponym *Parnassos* would originally be a possessive adjective derived from the noun *parna*, 'house' in both Luwian and Lycian.[28]

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26   As for the issue of connections between Greek and Asia Minor, see in particular Kretschmer (1896:370–399), devoted to populations of Asia Minor (Lycians, Carians, Lydians, and Mysians) including a final section on the Eastern Asia Minor tribes; Kretschmer (1896:401–409) addressing the issue of Pre-Greek indigenous populations of Greece; and Kretschmer (1896:410–419) on the linguistic unity of the Greek language. Although Kretschmer's volume is nearly 130 years old (having been written when its author was about 20 years old) and knowledge of Anatolian linguistics has made enormous strides, it still contains valuable insights and is, at the same time, cautious and balanced in considering linguistic facts. For a contemporary review, see Conway (1898). For a more recent one, see Morpurgo Davies (1972), on the occasion of the book's reprinting in 1970.

27   Kretschmer continued the research and modified his positions in light of new findings within the discipline. In particular, Kretschmer (1925) revisits the issue of Greek and Anatolian toponyms by incorporating new data from the now deciphered Hittite as well as Forrer's 1921 discussion, which identifies the Luwian possessive suffix -ss- that also gave rise to place names. Later, he also revisited questions of linguistic and cultural separation between "proto-Indo-Europeans" and "proto-Pelasgians" (1940), also reconsidering the northern and western frontiers of Greek, such as the Balkan, Illyrian, Italic, and Messapic areas (1943).

28   See, in particular, Palmer (1980:10–16) and Finkelberg (2006) on Luwian and Lycian correspondences. Chantraine (1933:368–371), mostly addressing the problem from a Greek perspective, has considered the suffix -νθ- of a Pre-Hellenic type, showing that the etymologies of Greek words and toponyms containing it are obscure.

The problem of toponymy persists in scholarly research. Among recent contributions from the perspective of Anatolian linguistics, Yakubovich (2010a:9–11) accepts the correspondence of morphemes, albeit with the *caveat* that it would "not point to an original Anatolian substrate in Greece any more than it bespeaks a Greek substrate in Bronze Age Asia Minor" (Yakubovich 2010a:10). It is also possible to have the same productive suffix, -(*a*)*nda* or -(*a*)*ssa*, in words having a different etymology: *Milaw-anda* and *Tarhunt-ašša* are probably secondary formations, whereas *Purušhanda* or *Nenašša*, still of unclear origin, may refer back to an older stratum. Whatever their origin,[29] these suffixes remained productive in Asia Minor due to their reinterpretation as the adjectival suffix -*ant* and the possessive suffix *-assa*, respectively. Moreover, these toponymic formations are found only in Asia Minor and, according to the author, there is no other evidence of an Anatolian substrate in Europe. This leads to the conclusion that "Anatolian and (by implicature) Luvic linguistic filiation took place within Anatolia" (Yakubovich 2010a:11).

Beyond toponymy, however, other alleged suffixes have been identified in common words as well. Beekes (2014:27–44), expanding Furnée's approach (1972), considered a number of suffixes, which he proposed to identify in different words, thereby providing hints of a regular distribution.[30] However, most of them are rendered opaque by their adaptation to the morpho-phonology of Greek, which results in a very speculative set of reconstructions. These suffixes are described mostly in their phonological and phonotactical features, in an attempt to identify a Pre-Greek substrate—which is meant as a unique, unattested non-Indo-European linguistic stratum visible through its effects on the Greek vocabulary. According to such a perspective, the -νθ- suffix, for instance, can show variants in mode of articulation, namely the voiceless/voiced/aspirate alternation, the stop also having a non-prenasalized counterpart. Given such premises, the suffix -νθ-, which is realized as -ανθ-, -ινθ-, -υνθ- (the latter being quite rare), is placed in relation with the non-prenasalized variants -αθ-, -ιθ-, -υθ-; the voiced variants -ανδ-, -ινδ-, -υνδ- (also without the nasal, hence -αδ-, -ιδ-, -υδ-); the voiceless and non-aspirated -ατ-, -ιτ-, -υτ-; and, finally, the rare nasalized variants -αντ- and -υντ- (*-ιντ- being unattested).

Examples of words containing this suffix include: αἴγινθος (a bird), γυργαθός (a basket), κύβινδις (a bird), λήκυθος (oil casket), λίμινθες (intestinal worms),

29   The etymological proposal of de Hoz (2004) is mentioned here as reference. For a comprehensive history of the problem, see Verhasselt (2011:273–277). See also Verhasselt (2009).

30   The list of 135 suffixes is based mostly on Furnée (1972) and, for toponyms, Fick (1905). See also Katičić (1976:39–55) for a list of place names organized by the suffixes; in particular, Katičić (1976:51–52) provides a recapitulative table considering the fragmentary evidence for the Pre-Greek system of derivations in toponomastics.

φάλανθος/φάλαντος (a sword), as well as some proper names such Καμύνδιος and Μέλανθος/Μέλαντος. The suffix is clearly identified only on the basis of an alleged form (with a very generous and forgiving pattern of allomorphism), whereas no there is no clear sign of potentially associated semantics. This appears to be the case for most of the suffixes presented by Beekes; these, from the perspective of general linguistics—rather than *morphemes*—should be described as phonological clusters that may recur in the corpus and that may or may not correspond (give or take a phoneme or two) to morphemes.

Based on this model of classification of alleged morphemes, Beekes proceeded to identify more than 1,000 Pre-Greek words, which would represent lexical items borrowed into Greek from one or more substrate languages (in Beekes's view, only one). Of course, massive borrowing from a substrate is a theoretical problem, because normally the direction of lexical borrowing is the opposite (i.e., from superstrate to substrate). In DELG, Chantraine offers a partial solution, speaking in favor of a general *substrat méditerranéen* (which may also be understood as being composed by different languages) to which a series of terms—often related to specific semantic fields endowed with a certain degree of technicity—belongs. In the introduction, Chantraine points out that technical terms would likely be borrowed, but also that they can be formed more or less arbitrarily (and, therefore, more obviously). Chantraine offers no further explanation of his working hypothesis regarding the greater borrowability of technical terms, probably because it is generally accepted. However, one may wonder how common these technical loans could be within a single language, and whether this principle by itself can explain more than a thousand Pre-Greek loans in Greek.

Although Beekes's (2014) putative morphological analysis of Pre-Greek is not based on semantic classification, the lexical collection is divided into different semantic categories, the largest being *fauna* and *flora*, followed by *equipment and utensils*, *human physiology*, *agriculture*, *construction*, and some others (Beekes 2014:47–164). However, it must be recognized that, because Beekes's classification does not originate from semantic grounds—but rather from phonological and morphological observations—the value of this categorization appears quite limited. For the purposes of this brief presentation, it is also worth mentioning that Beekes's collection includes only a very modest number of Pre-Greek words that would have an Anatolian formal match (however, it should be borne in mind that loans with ultimate Anatolian etymologies are excluded; they will likewise be treated separately in the present work, in Chapter 14).[31]

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31 Καρύκη, allegedly also Lydian (Beekes 2014:95); κηφῆν, -ῆνος (Beekes 2014:88), of which it is

2.3   *Overall Discussion on Pre-Greek between Linguistic Data and*
            Methodology

Without a doubt, the question of Pre-Greek and its linguistic shape is a linguistic one, but, more importantly, it is also a methodological problem. From the point of view of the phonetics and phonology, there have been some attempts to reconstruct a Pre-Greek language on the basis of the comparative method, specifically by establishing competing sound changes that differ from those known for the linguistic change from Proto-Indo-European to Greek. However, sound changes occurring in inheritance processes are different from phono-morphological adaptations possible in language contact, which lack the *mechanical* aspect of the language change. For instance, the notion of variants found in EDG suggests phenomena of loanword adaptations rather than substrate phenomena.[32] Moreover, the same issue intersects with that of dialectology and standardization of Greek: alternative variants may in fact have existed in other Greek dialects or varieties without having entered stably into standard Greek (see Section 2.1). On the morphological side, suffixes common to both Greek and Anatolian languages have been identified, albeit without arriving at a final solution on the origin of the suffixes themselves. To date, the tendency appears to favor assuming common formations but with independent developments throughout the history of the individual languages, due to re-analysis and reinterpretation (see Section 2.2). As regards the lexicon, the literature reflects a consistent trend in which technical vocabulary is thought to be higher in the hierarchy of borrowability than common vocabulary, although the tendency to borrow it from a substrate is somewhat surprising. Moreover, in the analysis of vocabulary, the history of words must always be foregrounded, considering the number and quality of attestations, the type of sources (e.g., epigraphic, literary, secondary literature such as glosses; see Chapter 13), and the philological and linguistic tradition.

    All of these points show the methodological complexity of the problem, which has sometimes been reduced to the basis of theoretical principles that can guide analysis of linguistic data (but occasionally risks forcing theory onto the data). For instance, a theoretical premise may be that Pre-Greek must have been a non-Indo-European substrate language (EDG, Beekes 2007, 2014); or, rather, that Pre-Greek is instead a set of features belonging to an Indo-European

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        said that it was "also used for Asiatic people by the Anatolian Greeks, e.g. for the Persians";
        κυδώνια (μᾶλα) [n. pl.] 'quinces,' which is defined as "Folk-etymologically adapted from an
        older Anatolian word" (Beekes 2014:60); and τολύπη, which is a ball of wool of some sort,
        matching Hittite *taluppi-* (Beekes 2014:73).

32   On this point, see also Garnier (2015) and Colvin (2016).

Paleo-Balkan language (Mihaylova 2016) or, again, that it is a substrate of the western Mediterranean area (which would also account for some Italic etymologies, cf. Garnier and Sagot 2017). If it were necessary to clearly define *Pre-Greek*, we would probably content ourselves with stating that the Pre-Greek substrate is formed by the unknown languages, so far unattested, that were spoken before and during the second millennium BCE in the area that would become a Greek-speaking one. As to the number and genealogy of these languages, we will not commit ourselves to any specific hypothesis.[33]

Some of the scholarly research has assumed that, before the arrival of Greek-speaking people, the whole geographical area—which includes Asia Minor, Greece, and Crete—was not only culturally but also linguistically homogenous. In the same direction, and drawing directly from Ascoli's research, Pisani (1938) developed the idea of *unità indo-mediterranea* (lit. 'Indo-Mediterranean unity'), which he considered to be, first and foremost, a cultural unity.

In the same direction, as Finkelberg recently observed, after having briefly—but acutely—reviewed the history of Pre-Greek substrate from the sides of both dialectology and Anatolian connections:

> We cannot of course exclude the possibility that some still unknown non-IE languages had indeed been present in the region. Yet, as far as the extant evidence goes, there are non visible traces of non-IE speakers to the west of the Semitic languages of Syria and to the north of the Egyptian of Africa. And although in default of a scholarly consensus as to the provenance of the language of Linear A, we cannot be absolutely certain that the same would also apply to the linguistic situation in Minoan Crete, the even spread of the suffixes *-s(s)-* and *-nth-* over Western Asia, Greece and Crete strongly suggests that before the emergence of Greek-speaking tribes the whole area in question was linguistically homogeneous. (Finkelberg 2014:136)

However, the last sentence may go too far. In our view, its reasoning would surely be improved by replacing "linguistically homogeneous" with "culturally

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33　See Merlin 2020, with references, for a discussion of some of the lemmas whose etymology is disputed and could be traced back to a possible Pre-Greek substratum or show some Anatolian influence. In particular, the discussion presented therein highlights some complex methodological and content-related issues as well as some open questions. Particularly important are the issues concerning the relationship between linguistic and cultural data and the fact that the existence of an Indo-European etymology does not *a priori* exclude the possibility of linguistic contact between related languages.

homogeneous," because we do not have enough data to speak of linguistic unity, unless Indo-European heritage is here understood in a very broad sense considering its possible regional or areal peculiarities.

The explanations for an alleged homogeneous linguistic area have been manifold, including an Anatolian substrate in Greece (not supported, however, by archaeology) and a pre-Indo-European proto-historic homogeneous linguistic area pre-dating the arrival of the Indo-Europeans and their differentiation into the Greek and Anatolian branches. Other phenomena appear to favor a picture of areal convergence in specific places of linguistic contact—in particular, between Greek and the Anatolian languages during the first millennium BCE in the territories of Asia Minor. However, back-projections of later scenarios are, by definition, risky and must be consigned to speculation.

3   The Greeks and the Ancient Near East

As individuals mostly educated within the so-called *Western tradition*, we are generally accustomed to recognizing the Greeks as our own cultural ancestors and to feeling that we are the direct heirs of their culture and tradition, represented (and even mystified) by the Greek ideals of freedom and democracy, as well as all the manifestations of art, literature, science and philosophy. By establishing such cultural roots, a pillar of the irreducible difference between East and West is founded, too.

Thus, it has been assumed that the originality of Greek culture was already established in the Classical Age, and that it was defined on the basis of opposition to a culturally different world—represented since the third millennium BCE by the Oriental world, corresponding to western Asia and including the Near Eastern political and cultural entities, namely Anatolia and Mesopotamia, as well as the Levantine regions and Egypt. It is precisely of these connections, contacts and conflicts between the Greek and Oriental worlds that scholars from different eras—often with different and even opposite aims, methods, intentions and perspectives—have sought the origins, in the texts of ancient authors and in written materials of different ages and regions.

One might wonder what the Greeks really thought so and whether real evidence truly exists for such an opposition in the texts coming from the Greek past. The Homeric poems, which constitute part of the materials that will be discussed in this chapter, certainly focus on the eastern boundary of the Aegean world, but rather than representing an unbreakable hard border, this was a communicating frontier. As will be emphasized once again in the next chapter (Chapter 12, Sections 2.2–2.5), literary motifs of likely Oriental origin emerge in

the early epics, thus testifying to the existence of a fluid geographical and cultural boundary at best. Furthermore, as Thucydides observed in a famous passage at the beginning of the *History of the Peloponnesian War* (1.3.3–4), Homer did not consider the Greeks a unified people nor one that stood in antithesis with Trojans according to some character of *barbarity*, since this category does not exist at that time.[34]

As is well known, the etymology of the word βάρβαρος is to be traced back to language, the word indicating "originally all non-Greek-speaking peoples, then especially of the Medes and Persians" (LSJ[35]). Thus, the linguistic element prevails over the ethnic element, or rather overlaps with it. The specific reference to the Medes and Persians pushes forward the use of the word βάρβαρος to the second half of the first millennium BCE, when the Achaemenid dynasty established its empire in the whole Near East, as well as in the eastern regions up to the Indus valley. In particular, the Persians came as rulers of the regions that previously belonged to the Lydian kingdom and the Assyrian Empire.

Herodotus, considered the first historian of Antiquity, who was born in the Persian Empire and whose mother was Carian, narrates the deeds of both Greeks and barbarians (Herodotus, 1.1 ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι); despite of the use of the word βάρβαρος, Herodotus has shown his impartial perspective and relativism, which earned him the epithet of *philobarbaros* by Plutarch, who lived six centuries later as a citizen of the Roman Empire.[36] Despite the possible inauthenticity of Plutarch's work against Herodotus, it must be noted that during the time of Plutarch, the ideology of classical Greece (of which the Romans saw themselves as the direct descendants) was well established, as represented, on the other hand, by Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, a series of paired biographies of the most famous Greeks and Romans.

But even before the Roman conquest in the first century BCE, all of Asia Minor had already been conquered by Alexander the Great, the young king of Macedonia, a small peripheral Greek kingdom, who had been educated by Aristotle in *classical* Greek culture. His expansionist actions had a considerable

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34   οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς ξύμπαντας ὠνόμασεν […] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ βαρβάρους εἴρηκε διὰ τὸ μηδὲ Ἕλληνάς πω, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀντίπαλον ἐς ἓν ὄνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι, "he [*scil.* Homer] nowhere named them altogether [*scil.* as Greeks] […] and he has not used the term Barbarians, either, for the reason, as it seems to me, that the Hellenes on their part had not yet been separated off so as to acquire one common name by way of contrast" (Translation Smith, Loeb 1919).

35   The LSJ will henceforth be the reference work for the Greek vocabulary, but the reader should also generally refer to the relevant entries in the recent *Cambridge Greek Lexicon* (CGL).

36   *De Herodoti malignitate*, 857a.

cultural impact because they gave rise to a new historical, political and cultural entity. Alexander's death (323 BCE) and the subsequent disintegration of his empire conventionally mark the beginning of a new era, Hellenism (Droysen 1833), meant as the period when Greek culture and language spread to the east, at that point unified under the single language of common Greek (κοινή διάλε-κτος), which either was added to or replaced the language(s) previously spoken in a given region of Anatolia and the Near East.[37] Thus, although the historical construct of an opposition between East and West became more solid and significant in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages (and even more so during the Middle Ages as well as in modern and contemporary times), the actual geographical and cultural boundary remained fluid and blurry, making it difficult to clearly distinguish different phases of contact and interaction.

The relevance of the diachronic extension and stratification of the contacts between the Aegean and the Anatolian worlds became increasingly evident with the decipherment of the Mycenaean language during the 1950s. Similarly to the discovery of Anatolian, the previous fallacious attempts were due to the graphemic system: Mycenaean tablets coming from both Crete and the Peloponnese are in fact written in a syllabic writing system known as Linear B. The decipherment of Mycenaean was guided by the hypothesis (perhaps triggered by recent advancements in the knowledge of Hittite) that the language of the Mycenaean tablets was not only Indo-European, but specifically a form of Greek. Ventris and Chadwick (1953) demonstrated that Mycenaean was a Greek dialect and, consequently, that the Greek language was attested long before Homer and Hesiod, already in what corresponds to the Late Bronze Age of the ancient Near Eastern chronologies. Thus, Mycenaean was recognized as a very archaic phase of a Greek dialect, related to some later ones (in particular, Arcado-Cypriot) but clearly distinguished from the Greek of the first millennium and separated from it by a period of apparent illiteracy, which corresponds at the historical level to the Greek Dark Ages, a historiographic category describing the period that starts from the destruction of the Mycenaean palatial civilization and ends with the appearance of the first Greek *poleis*.

It then became evident that the Greek language not only had coexisted with the Anatolian languages of the 1st millennium, but in one of its most archaic forms represented by the Mycenaean variety had also been spoken in the same centuries during which the Hittite Empire had existed. This new state of the art forced the classicists to overcome the romantic idea of a unitary, pure and

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37   However, the *koiné* was a standard written language. Its rules were determined by the concept of *Hellenismos*. On the latter, see in particular Morpurgo Davies (1987); Versteegh (1987); Clackson (2015); Pagani (2015).

uncorrupted Greek, essentially based on the classical Attic variety, analyzing the linguistic varieties through the tools offered by the Greek dialectology. As a side-effect, from the point of view of the language contact, the discovery of Mycenaean opened the door to the possibility of investigating contacts between the Greek world and the surrounding cultures as early as the second millennium BCE.

4 Narrowing the Focus: Greece and Bronze Age Anatolia

Historical contacts between the Late Bronze Age Mycenaean world and the Hittite—and, more generally, Anatolian—world have certainly existed, although some overly optimistic characterizations of the relationship between the Mycenaeans and the Near Eastern polities should be treated with caution. In any case, despite some recent attempts at resuscitating Sommer's now outdated views, it would no longer be productive to challenge the identification of the Hittite Ahhiyawa with the Greeks.[38]

The existence of political contacts—and above all, the existence of Mycenaean groups that were settled in western Anatolia—is a fundamental prerequisite to inquire whether the resulting socio-historical scenario triggered phenomena of sociolinguistic relevance. As will be argued in this and in the following chapter, data certainly exist that point to some degree of interference between Greek and the languages of Anatolia; however, the difficult task is assessing the intensity of these contacts and providing a suitable description of the materials that are currently available.

As summarized by Bianconi (2020), the existence of contacts between the Anatolian languages and Greek, also for the second millennium BCE, was already noticed in the 1950s in the works by Pisani (1955, 1959, 1960), who first proposed the idea of characterizing the Aegean–Anatolian area as a proper *Sprachbund* (a set of languages that intensively influence one another in a very strong fashion over a long period of time). Pisani's interest was not limited to the existence of lexical borrowings, but also included attempts at individuating shared grammatical features.[39] His results, and those of other leading

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38   Note, however, that the largely accepted correspondence between Ahhiyawa and Ἀχαιοί was recently challenged by Egetmeyer (2022), who rather suggested that Hittite *Ahhiya* referred to the island of Chios.

39   Most notably, the use of the suffix *-ske-* in the Anatolian, Greek, and Armenian verbal systems; cf. Pisani (1959) (and more recently Puhvel 1991, but see also Chapter 12, Section 2.1.2). On the theoretical status of grammatical interference, cf. Volume 1, Chapter 15.

Italian scholars who worked until the late 1990s, such as Gusmani (e.g., 1968, 1969) and Lazzeroni (e.g., 1960, 2006), were to some extent the precursors and foundations of the works by Watkins, who revamped some aspects of the hypothesis and, with his research on comparative phraseology, combined them with the parallel problem of the cultural and literary contacts.[40] At the same time, in a very complex article that appeared in 2001, the same Watkins took a more cautious position. In any case, these hypotheses of a strong relationship between Anatolia and the Aegean world were already being challenged by Laroche in the 1970s and, although they have been resuscitated from time to time in the literature, they have received mixed consensus (a little more among Indo-Europeanists, with scholars in the field of Oriental Studies and scholars in Classics appearing more skeptical).[41]

At the current stage of research, after significant advancements not only in the Anatolian philology and linguistics but also in the fields of the history and historical geography of Asia Minor and the ancient Near East, more analytical and fine-grained approaches should aim at distinguishing between different stages and different types of interference and contact.

In the next sections of this chapter, we will concentrate on the early phases of this interface, by examining the evidence for language contacts between the Mycenaean world and the peoples of Bronze Age Anatolia. The evidence putatively emerging from Homer and the problem of the contact between Greek and ancient Near Eastern literatures will be dealt with in Chapter 12. A discussion of lexical borrowings in Iron Age Greek will be offered in Chapter 14, because it represents a diachronically and functionally different topic. Similarly, the situation that emerges from the late glosses in the works by ancient scholars and grammarians will be treated separately in Chapter 13, as we believe that each different type of evidence requires dedicated treatment.

5   The Problem of Mycenaean–Anatolian Contacts

As highlighted in Chapter 10, there is overwhelming historical and archaeological evidence for interactions between the Hittite kingdom and the Ahhiyawa, such that it is no longer viable to assert that the latter were not, in fact, Greek. These contacts have some modest precursors in the pre- and proto-imperial

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40   See also West (1997) and Bachvarova (2016).

41   See Bianconi (2021) for a recent overview on the history of the studies; recent contributions critical of the hypothesis are those by Hajnal (2014, 2017) and Cotticelli Kurras (2021), all with further references to previous scholarship.

phase of Hittite history, and seem to become more significant in a phase that roughly corresponds to the second quarter of the 13th century BCE.[42]

Differences exist, however, in the way historians may interpret the intensity of the interactions and the level of integration of a Mycenaean *polity* in the Ancient Near Eastern context to which Hittite Anatolia belonged. Optimistic maximalist positions posit that the *King of Ahhiyawa* (sometimes even identified with the *wanax* of Mycenae, and at other times with a local ruler of an eastern Greek settlement in Asia Minor or on the islands off the coast) was a member of the diplomatic network of the post-Amarnian ancient Near Eastern Great Kings. He would have steadily corresponded with the Hittite kings, possibly even using Akkadian.[43] This hypothesis is fertile terrain for cultivating the idea of intensive interactions, which, when we come to the matter of language contact, may be suitable to support the idea of very strong and productive interference. Other positions are more cautious; Giusfredi (2021–2022, with reference to previous scholarship) suggests that the interactions were, on the contrary, limited to specific historical contingencies, which, although politically and culturally important, involved contacts between the eastern periphery of the Greek world and the western periphery of the Anatolian one.

In general, we prefer to keep a cautious approach, and to maintain that we can safely assume the existence of contacts between the peripheries of the two worlds. These contacts may have lasted longer than what is documented in the available sources, but no solid reasons exist to assume that they were particularly intensive, nor can one currently prove that stable *direct* contacts existed between the Hittite core area and any Greek polities beyond those settled in Asia Minor and on the adjacent islands. This scenario appears to fit with the evidence from written documents, which will be discussed in the following sections dedicated to onomastic material, possible loanwords, and alleged cases of grammatical interference involving Hittite (or Anatolian) and Mycenaean Greek.

5.1   *Onomastics*

There is currently no evidence of Mycenaean onomastics in the languages of the Hittite archives, with the sole exception of a few possibly Greek names

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42   For a collection of the data currently available about the Ahhiyawa problem, see Beckman et al. (2011).

43   See Giusfredi (2021–2022) for an overview of the previous studies. A more realistic and sensible analysis of how the correspondence must have taken place is that by Melchert (2020b).

that are mentioned in texts relating to the Ahhiyawa texts and to the polities of western Anatolia. These are, allegedly, the names *Alakšandu* / Ἀλέξανδρος, *Attar(iš)šiya* / Ἀτρεύς or Τειρεσίας (see Egetmeyer 2022:24–25), *Kukkunni* / Κύκνος, *Mukšu* / Μόψος, *Tawagalawa* / Ἐτεϝοκλέϝης, and perhaps the theonym *Appaliuna* / Ἀπόλλων, one of Alakšandu's gods in the treaty the king of Wiluša signed with the Hittite king Muwattalli II. Additionally, a hypothetical Luwian or Luwic analysis has been proposed for the name of Homeric Priam as *Pariyamuwa* (Starke 1997:458), which is quite convincing, but, as remarked by Yakubovich (2010:123), represents an isolated case among the names of most Trojan heroes. So, if the analysis is correct, it indicates nothing more than the existence of a circulating name of Luwic origin in Greek at the turn of the first millennium BCE, thus bearing no significance for the problem of the presence of Luwic speakers in northwestern Anatolia or in Troy.

As we maintain that the strategies of phonetic adaptation in contact scenarios show some level of regularity but are not entirely predictable, it would be unproductive to dwell on the criticism of the hypothetical correspondences between the Greek forms and the Cuneiform ones. That Alakšandu, for instance, is no perfect phonetic rendering of the corresponding Greek name, is self-evident; however, the similarities of the two forms, the geographical location of Wiluša, and the lack of parallels as well as of a formal explanation in any of the languages of Asia Minor show that an attempt at challenging the match would be almost a *petitio principii*. The same or similar considerations may, in principle, apply also to other names whose Greek counterparts are either well attested or etymologically analyzable. Of course, although these names are indeed in all likelihood Greek names transposed in cuneiform, this fact should not induce anyone to try and connect the historical figures who bore them with any known figures of the mytho-historical world of Bronze Age Greece. In other words, if the correspondence Alakšandu / Ἀλέξανδρος were real, this would not mean that the Wilušean counterpart of Muwattalli II is to be in any way identified with Alexander Paris. The same considerations are also valid for the names *Attar(iš)šiya* / Ἀτρεύς or Τειρεσίας and *Tawagalawa* / Ἐτεϝοκλέϝης:[44] the formal identification of the cuneiform names with Greek ones is possible, which is unsurprising giving the rather safe identification of the Ahhiyawa with the Mycenaean Greeks; however, one should refrain from turning history into science fiction by connecting the Ahhiyawean lord *Attar(iš)šiya*—who, in the

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[44] On this name, see Forrer (1924a:9–10, 1924b:114); opposed by Sommer (1934:56–59); see now also Heinhold-Krahmer et al. (2019b:67) and Melchert (2019b:360), the latter suggesting a likely Luwian intermediation in the transmission from Greek to Hittite due to the aphaeresis of the initial vowel.

Madduwatta text, is said to have attacked Cyprus—with the Atreus of the Greek mythology, seeking to establish the latter as a historical figure.

The same can be said for the correspondence between Anat. *Kukkunni* and Gr. Κύκνος. The former name occurs in the treaty between the Hittite king Muwattalli II and Alakšandu of Wiluša (CTH 76.A, NH/NS) and refers to a king of Wiluša who was on peaceful terms with Muwattalli's grandfather Šuppiluliuma I. The latter was a mythical son of Poseidon and the king of Colonae in the Troad, killed by Achilles during the Trojan War. However, first of all, it is difficult to establish whether the name had an ultimately Greek or Anatolian origin: on the one hand, Κύκνος means 'swan' and has a likely Indo-European etymology,[45] although it may reflect a folk etymological association; on the other hand, Anatolian has an independent reflex in the onomastics, the Lycian female name *Xuxune*, but its etymology is less clear.[46] In any case, in the classical tradition, Kuknos was not a king of Ilion before Paris, so one cannot safely identify the two individuals.

On the issues concerning the name pairs *Awariku / Warika* and Ῥάκιος and *Mukšuš / Muksa* and Μόψος, see Chapter 10, Section 6.

Finally, as far as divine names are concerned, in the list of divine witnesses of the treaty between the Hittite king Muwattalli II and Alakšandu of Wiluša (CTH 76.A, NH/NS), the broken theonym [...]x-*ap-pa-li-u-na-aš* occurs among the Wilušean deities (KUB 21.1+ iv 27), who follow those of Hatti:

> (26) ... [DINGIR^MEŠ *hūm*]*anteš* (27) *šA* KUR ^URU*Uluša* ^d10 KARAŠ ^d [...] x-*ap-pa-li-u-na-aš*
> "[a]ll [the deities] of the land of Wiluša, the Storm God of the army, the god [...], Appaliuna." (KUB 21.1+ iv 26–27)

Although there is a lacuna before the name, the name is generally assumed to be complete, so that the determinative for *god* that can be seen before the break should belong to a different divine name occurring between the Storm God of the army and Appaliuna.[47] As mentioned, it is generally believed that Appaliuna matches the Greek Ἀπόλλων,[48] who in the *Iliad* fights on the Trojan

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45   See EDG:799.

46   See Neumann (1976), who suggested a derivation from *kunna*- 'right' (on which, see EDHIL:493–494).

47   Based on the photo, traces of a vertical wedge appear visible before the sign AP, which may point either to A or AN (i.e., the determinative ^d), so that one could restore either [^d]⌈*A*⌉-*ap-pa-li-u-na-aš* or ⌈^d⌉*Ap-pa-li-u-na-aš*.

48   Since at least Forrer (1931:141–144), challenged by Sommer (1937:176–182).

side, and whose name, based on the variants (Cypr. Ἀπείλων, Dor. Ἀπέλλων),[49] could be traced back to a preform *Apelyōn, the form allegedly reflected by Appaliuna. Furthermore, Greek traditions connect Apollo with the Anatolian *milieu*, specifically with Lycia,[50] so that a correspondence between the Greek name and the Anatolian form occurring in the Alakšandu treaty (provided that it is complete) may gain some plausibility, although a shared divine name of uncertain origin is not particularly relevant to the issue of the nature of the contacts between Anatolian peoples and Greeks in the second millennium BCE. Indeed, even if some connection between the Anatolian and the Greek form can be established, the ultimate origin of the name remains problematic: various Greek, Anatolian, Hurrian, and Semitic etymologies have been suggested,[51] whereas Beekes (2003) regards the name as belonging to the Pre-Greek substratum language, which, in his view, stems from Asia Minor,[52] and Oettinger (2015) also traced back *Apelyōn to a non-Indo-European language located in western Anatolia. However, as long as Appaliuna is a hapax, any attempt to connect it with a given language cannot but remain tentative.[53]

All in all, Anatolian onomastic data, although existing, surely cannot not provide any safe evidence for the historical reality of the Trojan War and have, in general, quite limited relevance for the issue of language contact between Greek and Anatolian peoples. More interesting data are provided instead by the shared common lexicon discussed in the following section.

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49   See perhaps also the broken divine name]*pe-ro₂*-[in the Mycenaean tablet KN E 842, to be restored as [*a*]-*pe-ro₂*-[*ne*], /apeljonei/ (dat.) according to Ruijgh (1967:274), although other possibilities exist (see Blažek 2017:644).

50   See especially Beekes (2003:14–17), with references.

51   For a full listing (more than 25 different suggestions!), see Blažek (2017), who posited an original Hurrian form *apell(i)=o=nni, 'characterized by arrows.'

52   The alleged Pre-Greek form is reconstructed by Beekes (2003:13–14) as *Apalʸun(-), which would perfectly match Anatolian *Appaliuna-*.

53   Anatolian sources do not provide many data: although a Luwian origin for Appaliuna can be suggested (see Brown 2004, who connects it with Hitt. *appala-* 'trap,' which is probably a Luwian loanword), which would perhaps be consistent with an occurrence of the deity in western Anatolia, Luwian texts show no trace of this god. Iron Age sources are also not particularly telling: the Lydian god Qλdãns (or Qλjãns, according to the interpretation of the Lydian letter ⟨d⟩ suggested by Oreshko 2019) is sometimes regarded as corresponding to Apollo, but, whoever this deity was, it is unclear whether the name could match Gr. Ἀπόλλων (such a correspondence was originally established based on the mistaken reading Pλdãns, but later challenged; see, however, Carruba 2002:76 fn. 3). Finally, in Lycian sources, no Apollo-like divine names are found, and the personal name Ἀπολλόδοτος *translates* Lycian *Natrbbijẽmi* in the trilingual inscription of the Letoon (N 320), suggesting the divine name *Natr-* as corresponding to Gr. Ἀπόλλων (although the Lycian name may have a Carian origin; see Beekes 2003:15–16).

5.2 *Loanwords*

Turning to linguistic evidence for contact other than proper names, a number of Mycenaean words have been regarded as loanwords from Anatolian languages. For some of them, such an explanation may be reasonable (although never entirely certain), whereas others appear more problematic and plausibly warrant exclusion from the number of possible Anatolian loanwords in Mycenaean Greek.

The list of the most credited forms is not particularly long, and includes: *ku-wa-no* (= κύανος 'smalt'), with derived *ku-wa-ni-jo* and *ku-wa-no-wo-ko*, generally regarded as a borrowing from Hittite (NA4)*ku(wa)nna(n)*- 'copper'; *di-pa* (= δέπας 'goblet' in Homeric Greek), allegedly from an unattested Luw. **tipas*- 'cup'; *ko-wo* /kōwos/ (~ κῶας 'fleece'), usually regarded as borrowed from Carian, but virtually from any outcome of the Luwic preform **hawa*- 'sheep'; the much debated *da-pu₂-ri-to*- (= λαβύρινθος), allegedly from λάβρυς, a Lydian word for 'ax'; and *mo-ri-wo-do*- (= μόλυβδος 'lead'), from Lyd. *mariwda*- (< **merkʷ*-'dark').[54]

These forms will be critically discussed, with references, in Chapter 14, together with the later alphabetic Greek lexical material for which an Anatolian origin has been suggested. Here we will limit the discussion to a brief assessment of their status and their relevance to the definition of the cultural contacts between the Mycenaean world and Anatolia.

First of all, one should remark that the very limited number of Mycenaean words for which an Anatolian origin has been invoked may simply be attributable to the nature of the Mycenaean documentation, consisting mostly of brief economic texts. Furthermore, if one takes into account that a number of the (alleged) Anatolian loanwords attested only later in alphabetic Greek could be traced back to the Mycenaean period, the number increases (although not by much). Thus, a quantitative evaluation cannot provide truly solid data for the interpretation of their historical value.

From a qualitative point of view, one can observe that all of them—with the possible exception of the disputed labyrinth—refer to commercial goods and provide evidence only for trade relations, which can also be conducted

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54   Previously suggested Anatolian loanwords in Mycenaean that are no longer regarded as valid include words currently explained as either probably inherited (*a₃-za* = αἴξ 'goat'; *wo-no* = οἶνος 'wine'), or borrowings from Semitic without Anatolian mediation (*ku-mi-no* = κύμινον 'cumin,' cf. Akkad. *kamūnu* and Aram. ΚΜWΝ rather than Hitt. *kappani*-; *ki-to* = χιτών 'chiton,' cf. Akkad. *kitû* 'flax, linen,' Ugar. ΚΤΝ 'tunica,' Phoen. ΚΤΝ 'id.,' etc.), or of unknown origin (*e-re-pa* = ἐλέφας; *ke-ra-me-u* 'potter,' derived from the base later attested as κέραμος 'pottery'; *ki-u-ro*- = κίουρος 'basket'; *su-za* /sussā/ 'fig-tree,' from the base later attested as σῦκον 'fig'). For a discussion on these forms and references, see Simon (2018a).

over long distances and do not necessarily imply direct and close contact between cultures. Again, this may be attributable to the overwhelmingly economic nature of Mycenaean documents—but if one also takes into account the alleged Anatolian loanwords attested later in the alphabetic documentation, after ruling out those certainly resulting from direct contact between Greek and the epichoric languages on the Anatolian territory during the first millennium BCE, the resulting picture is the same.

The Anatolian languages involved also provide relevant data. With the possible exception of *ku-wa-no*/κύανος 'smalt,' which, on the Anatolian side, can currently be compared only with Hittite (NA4)*ku(wa)nna(n)*- 'copper' (despite some claims to the contrary, Luwian *kuwannani*- 'eyebrow' was likely unrelated, as argued by Giusfredi 2017), all the other alleged Anatolian loanwords in Mycenaean can be traced back to western Anatolian languages, either as direct sources or as mediators (Carian, Lydian, Luwian, and other undetermined Luwic languages). Therefore, the assumption of intensive direct contacts between Mycenaeans and Hittites is not supported by linguistic evidence. It was, rather, the western periphery that may have had direct contacts with the Mycenaean people.

All told, lexical interference between Mycenaean and the Anatolian languages of the Bronze Age does not support a scenario involving strong contact situations. For the time being, to the best of our knowledge, Anatolian loanwords in Mycenaean Greek are few, never entirely assured (and sometimes also problematic; see Chapter 14), unidirectional (no Greek borrowings have so far been recognized in Bronze Age Luwian and Hittite), likely involve only the peripheries of both worlds, and essentially belong only to the economic sphere, which cannot exclude indirect contacts.

6   Concluding Remarks

This chapter presents a number of open questions for which solutions are neither unambiguous nor always self-evidently available to scholars.

First of all, somewhat pessimistically, we might say that no consensus definition of Pre-Greek has been reached—and, of course, no conclusive description has been provided. We can only say that in each of the approaches, the term itself appears to mean something different, from a single substrate language to a set of substrates in one or more areas of the eastern Mediterranean, for all of which a positive identification may or may not be given, depending on the views of the individual scholars. Moreover, the picture is complicated by the fact that the research has spanned decades of the discipline's history in which

knowledge about Anatolian languages has progressively increased and rede-
fined possible contacts at the Aegean-Anatolian interface.

For this reason, the question on possible relationships between Greek, Pre-
Greek, and Anatolian languages has a strong methodological component. How-
ever, given the modest number of matching words that may have a common
substrate origin in Greek and Anatolian, the impact of the problem is likewise
rather modest. We will treat as Anatolian loans only those forms that can be
positively identified as such, without taking a final position on the indirect
reconstruction of possible early substrata that may—or may not—have also
influenced the historical lexicon of several Asia Minor's Anatolian languages.

Secondly, we have shown that data on language contacts in Mycenaean
times between the Greek and Anatolian worlds are very scarce. Most of the few
(and uncertain) loanwords that can be identified involve names of commercial
goods, which do not require situations of strong and intensive language contact
to occur. In sum, the situation that emerges from the documentation is that of
a very limited and indirect contact involving only the peripheries of the two
worlds.

Homer and Anatolian

Filip De Decker and Stella Merlin

1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the possible Anatolian influence on the Homeric poems. It is divided into three parts. First, an explanation is given for choosing the topic of Homer and Anatolian. The second part focuses on the possible interference in the Homeric verbal morpho-syntax, analyzing the use of the modal particle and the indicative mood to mark non-realis (potentialis and irrealis) modality, the use of the suffix -σκ- to mark imperfectivity in past indicative verb forms, and, finally, the use of the genitive case in the absolute constructions. The third part discusses the possibility of an Anatolian influence on the phraseology and literary topoi. Through a critical assessment of the existing literature on the topics and a detailed analysis of selected passages and samples, the chapter establishes that the assumption of contact-induced influence from Anatolian into Homeric Greek cannot be substantiated in a conclusive fashion.

2 Homeric Greek and Anatolian

The Homeric poems are a privileged field of research on Aegean–Anatolian contacts in the earliest ages. This statement originates from the basic assumption, accepted by all scholars, that the Homeric poems (in the textual form in which they have come down to us) are the result of a long compositional genesis rooted in Mycenaean times (archaeologically dated ca. 1600–1050 BCE),[1] when the Greeks were historically in relationships with kingdoms and peoples of western Anatolia.

Homer is chosen because it is possible that some echoes of the earliest stages of Greek language, parallel with the narrative contents of the poems,[2] have been maintained there, whereas they are invisible in Mycenaean tablets due

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1 See, e.g., Duhoux 2014d.

2 The Anatolian topic (the Trojan War) may have played a role influencing the literary and linguistic transmission; see Hajnal (2017:2040, 2043). Cf. Section 2.6.

to the very nature of the texts transmitted in Linear B: the latter are instead relevant for lexical analysis.[3]

Given such premises, the first part of this chapter (Section 2.1) aims to search the data for potential evidence of interference between the Greek and Anatolian branches at the morpho-syntactic level, whereas the second part (Section 2.2) will focus on phraseology and literary motifs in the epic genre of both sides of the Mediterranean Sea.

2.1   *Morpho-syntactic Isoglosses between Greek and Anatolian*[4]

In this section, three morpho-syntactic isoglosses will be discussed. There are several reasons for the choice of only these three. In the longest treatment of the Graeco-Anatolian isoglosses, Bianconi 2015, only four morpho-syntactic ones were discussed, while the others were mostly phonetic and/or purely morphological ones. As much more research has been performed on these latter ones and the syntactic features have received virtually no attention, we decided to specifically concentrate on the morpho-syntactic ones in this subchapter (in general, we have to note that syntactic and morpho-syntactic phenomena are still under-investigated when compared to etymological, phonological and morphological questions). The reason why only three out of the four were treated is that the fourth one, the use of preverbs to mark telicity, cannot be considered an isogloss as it is a common evolution, visible in other Indo-European languages as well (such as Dutch, German and Latin), and it can thus not be excluded that this use developed independently in Ionic Greek and Anatolian. The isoglosses that will instead be discussed, are:

1)   The use of a particle (called *modal particle*, MP, in classical philology) to distinguish between the realis and counterfactual construction in the indicative, i.e., the particle conveyed counterfactual meaning;

2)   The use of the so-called iterative suffix -*sk*- in finite verb forms to mark imperfectivity; and

3)   The use of the genitive in the absolute constructions.

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3   Apart from Homer, the Homeric language and epic also include Homeric Hymns, Hesiod, and indirectly we might add all the Homeric tradition up to Nonnos of Panopolis (5th century CE).

2.1.1   The Modal Particle and the Indicative in Counterfactual Constructions[5]

The construction of the counterfactual (unreal or irrealis) in Hittite is straightforward: the present indicative and the particle *man* are used for the present and the indicative preterite, and *man* is used for the past, as can be seen in the following example:[6]

> *man=uš=kan Huzziyaš kuenta nu uttar išduwāti*
> "Huzzia would have killed them, but the matter became known." (KBo 3.1 ii 11)

In this sentence, *kuenta* is a past-tense form and *man* is the modal particle. There is a clear connection between particle and unreal meaning and between past tense and past reference for the irrealis. It is alleged that the same applies to Greek, namely that the MP marks the modality and the tense the temporal reference. Although most Greek grammars indeed state that the irrealis of the present is expressed by the indicative imperfect and that of the past by the aorist, the reality is in fact different.

Because this specific isogloss is discussed elsewhere in much more detail (De Decker 2021), a relatively brief explanation will be provided here, aiming to argue that the use of the modal particle and the indicative to mark unreal events cannot be considered an isogloss between Greek and Hittite, because 1) the data are taken from the Attic dialect, which poses geographic and temporal problems for the contact (Attic Greek dates from the 5th–4th centuries BCE and Hittite from the 17th–12th centuries BCE, and Greek—be it Attic or Ionic—was never in direct contact with Hittite); 2) the modal particle was not needed for the modal meaning; 3) the *modal* particle did not have *modal* meaning; 4) Greek has no unreal events referring to past and present, but distinguishes only according to aspect; and 5) the optative was the original mood for the potential and unreal meaning—and not the indicative, as was visible from some examples in Attic Greek—and was substituted by the indicative only within

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5   Earlier scholarship, more examples, and different scenarios were discussed in De Decker (2015:221–240, 2021.)

6   This was first described by Friedrich (1930); see also Friedrich (1960:139, 160); Hoffmann (1984:27); Luraghi (1997:50); Hoffner and Melchert (2008:314–316); and Francia and Pisaniello (2019:123–124). This is the *Paradebeispiel*, quoted in Friedrich (1930:288); Hoffmann (1984:27); Luraghi (1997:50); and Hoffner and Melchert (2008:316). The translation is that by Friedrich (1930:288); Hoffmann (1984:27); and Luraghi (1997:50), whereas Hoffner and Melchert (2008:316) suggested "wanted to kill," but Friedrich (1930:288) had already argued against this translation long before Hoffner and Melchert.

the history of Greek. Five examples will illustrate these observations. The first shows that the MP is not needed to mark modality:

> ῥεῖα θεός γ᾽ ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα *σαώσαι*.
> "Easily, a god could save a man even from afar, if he so wishes." (*Od.* 3.231)

In this example, the optative has potential meaning (a wish appears to be excluded here), but is used without a modal particle. One could try to add the particle against the codices, by writing θεός κ᾽ ἐθέλων, but this is problematic because it would then violate Wackernagel's Law (because κε(ν) is a sentence-particle, it should appear after the first word of the sentence, ῥεῖα, and not θεός).

Moreover, the MP in Homeric Greek does not mark modality, but instead has a semantic and deictic meaning. The issue of the modal particle cannot be discussed in detail here,[7] but its use can be summarized as follows:[8] it is used in specific instances with a link to the present situation, and is omitted or dispreferred in generic instances, in instances referring to the more remote future, in voluntative contexts (wishes, purpose clauses, *verba timendi*, exhortations), in optatives in conditional clauses (as they are old wishes), in sentences with an undefined subject, in negative sentences, in repeated actions, and in forms preceded by forms with a modal particle.

Two examples will make this clear (as discussed in Chantraine 1953:211 and De Decker 2015:215, 218–219, 2022b:5–6):

> καί νύ τις ὧδ᾽ *εἴπῃσι* κακώτερος ἀντιβολήσας.
> "And now so a lesser character might speak when he meets us." (*Od.* 6.275)

> ὅς *κέν* τοι *εἴπῃσιν* ὁδὸν καὶ μέτρα κελεύθου.
> "He will then reveal you the road and the ways to find your way home." (*Od.* 10.539)

In the first passage, Nausicaa feared that an undefined Phaeacian might see her in the company of Odysseus and would chastise her for choosing a foreign

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7 See De Decker (2021:138–170, 2022a, 2022b) for more details and a critical discussion of the scholarship, etymology, and examples.

8 See Monro (1891:266): "[t]he Subj. with κεν or ἄν indicates that a particular future occasion is contemplated," Chantraine (1953:211–212): "[e]lles (sc. les particules modales) soulignent un cas particulier, marquent une emphase et s'emploient avec le subjonctif éventuel plutôt qu'avec le subjonctif de volonté," and Ruijgh (1971:286–288): "[e]n grandes lignes, Homère tend à employer la particule lorsqu'il s'agit d'un fait temporaire, mais à s'en passer dans le cas d'un fait permanent."

husband. The second line is taken from Circe's explanation to Odysseus that he must sail into Hades and speak to Tiresias, who will then advise him how he and his men can return home unscathed. The first line refers to an unde-fined character who could say something, whereas the second one refers to a well-defined person, namely Tiresias. The difference in definiteness explains the use and absence of the MP.

Below, I will give two examples in which the meaning is clearly unreal—and yet in which not the indicative, but the optative is used—and a third in which the imperfect refers clearly to the past.[9] Whereas the first one refers to the past, the other could refer to both present and past, and the third has a form of the present stem, showing that the tense usage—both in the optative as in the indicative—is based on aspect and not on temporal reference (the opta-tives are underlined, the indicatives are put in boldface, and the forms with uncertain temporal reference are also italicized).

ἦ γὰρ ἂν Ἀτρεΐδη νῦν ὕστατα λωβήσαιο.
"Indeed, son of Atreus, you would then have committed your last outrage." (*Il.* 1.232)

ἦ σ' ἂν *τισαίμην*, εἴ μοι δύναμίς γε *παρείη*.
"I would *have made / make* you pay, if the power *had been / were* inside me." (*Il.* 22.20)

713   καί νύ κε δὴ πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα
714   Ἕκτορα δάκρυ χέοντες ὀδύροντο πρὸ πυλάων,
715   εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ἐκ δίφροιο γέρων λαοῖσι μετηύδα.
       "And now they would have wailed for Hector, in front of the gates shed-ding tears the entire day until the setting of the sun, had not the old man addressed the people from his chariot." (*Il.* 24.713–715)

At this stage, it should be clear that the indicative was by no means the only mood in epic Greek to express the possible or the unlikely, but this was not the case even in post-Homeric Greek, where we find passages in which the optative refers to the unreal or possible in the past.[10]

9   For more examples, see De Decker (2015:221–240, 2021:147–149).
10   For a discussion of all instances, see De Decker (2015:224–225, 2021:147–149).

2.1.2   The Imperfective Meaning of the Ionic-Epic -σκ- Iteratives and the
           Hittite -šk- Forms

Formations in -sk- occur in many, if not all, Indo-European languages, of which
only one example is provided here: of the root *ĝneh₃- 'know,' we have a
Greek and a Latin -sk- present formation: Greek γ-ι-γνώ-σκω (with additional
reduplication), and Latin (g)nō-scō. Besides the *normal* suffix that appears
throughout the entire inflection of the present stem of the verbs for which it
is attested, in Greek a suffix -σκ- can be added to verb forms in the imperfect
and aorist of the indicative. It has been argued that these Greek forms, often
called *epic-Ionic iteratives*, have imperfective meaning and that the creation
of such forms was the result of contact with the Hittite forms in -šk-.[11] How-
ever, there are four main problems with this isogloss. The first objection has
already been raised above, namely that these -šk- forms were attested only in
Hittite and not in the other Anatolian languages (the suffix appears in another
form), and that Hittite and Ionic Greek have never had direct contact. Second,
in spite of the name *Ionic-epic iteratives*, these forms are indeed attested in
epic Greek, but it is unclear whether they are specifically Ionic, for they are
attested in post-Homeric poetry (including tragedy and comedy) and *Homeriz-
ing* prose (Herodotus), but *not* in the Ionic inscriptions, thus casting doubt on
the Ionic nature of the suffix. Recently, Jiménez-Delgado and García-Zamora
(2022) compared the use of the iteratives in Herodotus with that of early epic
Greek, non-epic Ionic poets and later epicists. They were able to establish that
Herodotus's use differed significantly from that of poetry (both in terms of the
verbs that used it as well as the contexts in which it could appear), and this fact
led them to conclude that the use of the suffix was not an epicism. The authors
argued that the absence of the suffix from the inscriptions can be explained
by the fact that such inscriptions never refer to repeated actions in the past
and, therefore, that this absence could not—and should not—be used either
to argue that the suffix did not belong to the everyday language or as evidence
that it was an epicism. However, this argument is not entirely persuasive: it is
true that Herodotus uses the suffix with many more verbs than Homer, but that
in itself does not exclude the possibility that it was an epicism—and, more
importantly, the fact that many more non-Ionic authors used it in their works
(also with verbs that never featured it in Homer or that did not even occur in

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11   Pisani (1959:176–177) was the first to posit that the suffix was an isogloss of the languages
     in Asia Minor (Ionic Greek, Hittite and Armenian), while Puhvel (1991) was the first to
     explicitly state that the suffix was an isogloss between Hittite and Ionic Greek and that
     it proved the existence of a *Sprachbund* between these two languages (however, unlike
     Pisani, he omitted Armenian).

Homer) makes it more likely that the suffix was an epicism and not an element of contemporary Ionic. A third objection is that the suffix is attested throughout the entire paradigm in Hittite, whereas that the Greek one is limited to the past indicative. A fourth and final objection is that it is unclear whether these forms are, in fact, imperfective in Greek.

After giving a brief overview of the scholarship on the Homeric aspect, the iterative forms of the *Iliad* will be analyzed to prove that the iteratives display the same aspectual distinctions as the other verbs[12] and that they are not imperfective, contrary to the Hittite forms.[13] Generally speaking, the distinction between aorist and imperfect in Greek is described in terms of *momentaneous* and *punctual* versus *durative*,[14] which has never been worded more accurately than by Pott (1833:57): "der griech. Aorist verhält sich zum Impf. (und Praes.) wie Punct zur Linie" (hence the description *punctual*), and in terms of *perfective* versus *imperfective*, for which I will use the following definitions: "perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation" (Comrie 1976:16, accepted in Bybee et al. 1994:125–126 and in my opinion still valid today). Greek aspect has been studied intensively, but comparably little attention has been paid to the noteworthy differences in aspect use between the Homeric language and that of Classical (i.e., Attic) Greek, for in many instances the imperfect and the aorist are used almost interchangeably, and the imperfect often appears where Classical Greek would require the aorist. In her recent treatment of Homeric aspect, Napoli (2006) started from Vendler's (1957) classification of verbs as being *states, activities, accomplishments* and *achievements*[15] as well as his description of *states* as non-dynamic, durative and telic; *activities*

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12   This has been argued before, as in Stolpe (1849, especially page 45); Curtius (1852:29, 1880:406); Týn (1860); Giacalone Ramat (1967:115–116); Wathelet (1973:401–403); Zerdin (1999:301, 325–326); Ittzés (2008: 13); and Kimball (2014). Daues (2009) did not discuss the aspect of the iterative forms, although she conceded that the interaction of meaning, suffix and aspect was much more complex, as one would expect from her analysis ("Dass das Zusammenspiel von Lexembedeutung, Verbalaspekt und Suffix im Detail viel komplexer ist, als im Rahmen dieses Beitrags dargestellt werden kann, wird freilich eingeräumt," Daues 2009:87).

13   See different analyses in Bechtel (1936); Dressler (1968); Hoffner and Melchert (2002:378–381, 2008:317–322); Cambi (2007); Daues (2009); Francia and Pisaniello (2019:82–83); and Inglese and Mattiola (2020).

14   See already Buttmann (1810:488–490).

15   Vendler's schema has since become the standard starting point for verbal analyses, and in spite of some of the problems it may entail (the list of criticisms and suggested improvements is very long, as can be seen in Napoli 2006:24 fn. 1), it remains a reliable comparative tool.

as dynamic, durative and non-telic; *accomplishments* as dynamic, durative and telic; and *achievements* as dynamic, non-durative and telic (Napoli 2006:32–47). By then applying these classes to the verbs in Homeric Greek, she was able to show that there was a clear correlation between perfectivity (the aorist in this case), telicity and the use of countable, defined and animated direct objects, so that "he killed X" would appear in the aorist, whereas "he killed enemies" would be in the imperfect.

In what follows (and in spite of the criticism by Hollenbaugh 2018), these definitions and the Vendler–Napoli analysis will be used as a guideline for the investigation of the iteratives in the *Iliad* (in spite of the fact that Napoli did not address the so-called *iterative forms* in her study). First, the data will be given.

In the *Iliad*, there are 134 certain instances of an iterative form, divided as follows per tense:[16]

TABLE 12.1   Data of the iterative forms in the *Iliad* per type of speech

	Aorist	**Imperfect**	**Overall**
Speech	7	41	48
Narrative	21	47	68
Speech introductions	12	2	14
Speech conclusions	4	0	4
Total	44	90	134

Per type of text and sentence, the data are

TABLE 12.2   Data of the iterative forms in the *Iliad* per type of clause

	Aorist	**Imperfect**	**Total**
Main clauses	41	44	85
Relative clauses	3	40	43
Causal clauses	0	2	2
Temporal clauses	0	4	4

16   The forms ἔσκε, φάσκε / ἔφασκε and βάσκε / ἔβασκε have been omitted because we do not consider them genuine Ionic-iterative forms; the former is related to (Old) Latin *escit* and the two latter forms have corresponding present indicative and non-indicative forms as well.

The following observations can be made regarding aspect use:

1) There are more imperfects than aorist forms.
2) In speech introductions and conclusions, the aorist is more common than the imperfect (but the data may be insufficient to allow for a judgment).
3) The aorist is very rare in subordinate clauses.

The large number of imperfect forms is expected because these forms are often used to express habitual, durative, frequentative and iterative actions, and they are more often linked with the imperfective rather than with the perfective. Thus, the forms in the imperfect are more common, and the predominant use of the imperfect in the subordinate clauses is also expected, because most instances of subordinate clauses occur in a relative clause where the habits and/or duration of a certain action are described ('used to live,' 'used to hold') and they are either *states* or *activities*, categories without end point for which the imperfective aspect is used. Because the aorist forms are the fewest and somewhat surprising, I first discuss the passages with the aorist, then those with the imperfect and finally those in which both tenses co-occur.

Of the 44 aorist forms, 15 occur in what can best be called *τις-actions*,[17] that is, the use of the iterative forms to mark not a repeated action by one single person, but rather the repetition of a single action by different persons.[18] Because these forms describe a single action that is completed by the actor as soon as the other starts doing it, the aorist is used. This is particularly common in speech introductions and conclusions.[19] One example is the following:

> ὣς ἄρα τις **εἴπεσκε**, μένος δ' **ὄρσασκεν** ἑκάστου.[20]
> "So one would speak and he would incite the spirit of each of them." (*Il.* 17.423)

In this instance, Homer describes how Greeks and Trojans incited each other after the battle for Patroclus's dead body began. This line does not state that

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17   The instances are *Iliad* 2.271, 3.297, 3.319, 4.81, 4.85, 7.178, 7.201, 11.636, 17.414, 17.420, 17.423 (x2), 22.372, 22.375 (x2).

18   This specification was first made by Stolpe (1849:38–39) and Týn (1860:682), and later by Zerdin (1999:298) and Pagniello (2007), and is also visible in speech introductions of the so-called *τις-Reden*; see De Decker (2015:275–276). Kluge (1911: 35–36) also mentioned this analysis, but he explicitly denied its correctness. Because this use occurs especially with undefined subjects such as τις or ἄλλος, we use the term *τις-actions*, based on the coinage *τις-Reden* by Fingerle (1939:283–293) for speech introductions by undefined subjects.

19   The instances are *Iliad* 2.271, 3.297, 3.319, 4.81, 7.178, 7.201, 17.414, 17.420, 22.372.

20   The iterative forms are in bold face.

one person incited his companion repeatedly, but rather that each soldier encouraged his fellow soldiers. We are not dealing with one person repeating his actions, but rather with one action being repeated by several characters.

In other instances, the aorist is used to describe a completed action that was repeated:

743 ὅς τις δὲ Τρώων κοίλης ἐπὶ νηυσὶ φέροιτο
744 σὺν πυρὶ κηλείῳ, χάριν Ἕκτορος ὀτρύναντος,
745 τὸν δ᾽ Αἴας **οὔτασκε** δεδεγμένος ἔγχεϊ μακρῷ:
746 δώδεκα δὲ προπάροιθε νεῶν αὐτοσχεδὸν οὖτα.
  "Whoever from the Trojans rushed against the hollows ship with burning fire, because of the incitements of Hector, Ajax would stab, taking them with his long spear. Twelve he stabbed in man-to-man battle immediately in front of the ships". (*Il.* 15.743–746)

This passage describes how Ajax tries to withstand the attacks by the Trojans who are pushed forward by Hector. Driven forward by him, twelve warriors rush at Ajax and he (A) kills each of them when they meet him. We are dealing with a single battle episode in which repeated actions are described and the verb 'stab, wound' is an achievement-verb here: as soon as Ajax finishes stabbing someone, he has finished and he can *proceed* to the next one. The difference between οὔτασκε and οὖτα can be explained whereby the latter summarizes the killing of the twelve opponents, and because Ajax does not kill twelve men each time, οὖτα does not have the iterative suffix.

As far as the imperfect is concerned, consider the following example:

490 οὔτέ ποτ᾽ εἰς ἀγορὴν **πωλέσκετο** κυδιάνειραν
491 οὔτέ ποτ᾽ ἐς πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ **φθινύθεσκε** φίλον κῆρ
492 αὖθι μένων, **ποθέεσκε** δ᾽ ἀϋτήν τε πτόλεμόν τε.
  "He would never walk around in the gatherings that bring fame to men, nor into battle, but his beloved heart continued to fade away, staying there and did long for war cry and battle". (*Il.* 1.490–492)

After withdrawing from battle out of anger with Agamemnon, Achilles regretted his decision for having missed the warfare, and he was longing for battle again. The three verbs are activities, πωλέσκετο ('walking around'), φθινύθεσκε ('fade away') and ποθέεσκε ('long for, desire'). These verbs describe long-lasting activities without a clear end point; therefore, the imperfect is used.

Finally, we provide a passage in which an iterative form in the imperfect is used in contrast with one in the aorist:

330   τάων ἐκ πασέων κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ
331   ἐξελόμην, καὶ πάντα φέρων Ἀγαμέμνονι **δόσκον**
332   Ἀτρεΐδῃ: ὃ δ' ὄπισθε μένων παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῇσι
333   δεξάμενος διὰ παῦρα **δασάσκετο**, πολλὰ δ' **ἔχεσκεν**.
334   ἄλλα δ' ἀριστήεσσι δίδου γέρα καὶ βασιλεῦσι:
       "Out of all these cities I took much and rich bounty, and gave everything
       to Agamemnon, son of Atreus, as a gift. He stayed back at the swift ships,
       received everything, divided little and kept much (to himself). Other gifts
       he offered to the leaders and the kings". (*Il.* 9.330–334)

When asked by the Greek embassy to resume fighting, Achilles answers that he will not do so, emphasizing how he was dishonored and how they all share the same fate. In the lines quoted here, a bitter Achilles outlines how a *prototypical* siege and conquest would evolve: he must sack the city and bring the spoils to Agamemnon, who then divides a little and keeps most for himself, offering some gifts to the other leaders. We note an interplay between syntax and semantics here in the use of the tenses: the form ἔχεσκεν is an activity-verb and therefore the imperfective aspect is used, whereas δασάσκετο ('divide') and δόσκον ('give') are either accomplishment- or achievement-verbs, and are therefore in the aorist. The aspectual difference also shows the power balance: whereas Achilles must give, Agamemnon divides a limited amount, but this action is very punctual and limited (hence the aorist) whereas his act of keeping most of the gifts is durative (hence the imperfect). Moreover, the meter cannot have been the motivating factor, as δασάσκετο, which is from δατέομαι, is metrically equivalent to the imperfect iterative form δατέσκετο. Subtly, Achilles also hints at the fact that Agamemnon does not often hand out gifts by using a simple imperfect, δίδου, and not an iterative form, and that he himself must give more than he has to sack cities by using plain aorist forms for the plundering and conquering (ἀλάπαξ' and ἐξελόμην), but an iterative for the giving (δόσκον), for which a plain aorist would have been possible as well (δῶκα is metrically equivalent to δόσκον).

    The analyses of the passages quoted above prove that the epic iterative forms are subject to the same aspectual distinctions as the *normal* verb forms. Consequently, it is hardly arguable that these forms mark imperfectivity. This fact, together with the general reservations as to time and space constraints, lead us to conclude that the existence of this specific isogloss cannot be sustained.

2.1.3 The Use of the Genitive in Absolute Constructions

The existence of absolute constructions in different Indo-European languages cannot be denied.[21] In the oldest languages we find the genitive absolute (GA) in Greek, the ablative absolute (AbA) in Latin, and the locative absolute (LA) in Sanskrit (in Greek and in later Latin, we also find the accusative (AcA) and nominative absolute (NA), which cannot be addressed here). Carruba (1966:41) argued that certain participle forms with the genitive ending in -*aš* such as *ašandaš* 'sitting' or *nuntaraš* 'hurrying' proved that there was a genitive absolute in Hittite as well (or that there had been one at a certain stage),[22] but this has not found universal agreement (see especially Holland 1987:165–166); in spite of this, the use of the genitive in the absolute constructions in Hittite and Greek has been used as evidence for language contact and even as an isogloss (with Hittite influencing Greek). In this section, I will briefly discuss the origins of the genitive absolute and argue that the use of the genitive and the rise of the absolute construction can be explained from within Greek itself and that it is not necessary to assume that Greek borrowed the genitive absolute from Hittite. Of course, the issue of the origin of the absolute constructions in PIE cannot be discussed here. The question is whether they already existed in the mother language; the fact that most old languages have them appears to indicate that they did, but the fact that they all use different cases suggests the opposite interpretation.

For the origin of the GA, two different explanations have been given, and examples for both of them can be found in Homer. The first is that the construction was in origin a genitive noun with a conjunct participle that was then reinterpreted as an absolute construction. The details differ, as many argue that the genitive of time was the starting point,[23] whereas others suspect that the

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21 The most recent treatments are Keydana (1997); Maiocco (2005); and Ruppel (2013).

22 Carruba (19866; 41) catalogues these forms as *Beispiele* (*oder Reste*) *des Genitivus absolutus*.

23 Buttmann (1810:521–522); Kühner (1835:666); Classen (1867:176–188) pointed out that in many so-called *absolute constructions*, only a participle (without noun) was used and therefore put the weight on the participle; they also noted that the temporal meaning prevailed with the participles in the present and the causal with those in the aorist, but because those in the present were much more common, he argued that they were original and so also the temporal meaning and the other meanings were secondary and so was the use of the aorist; see also Spieker (1885) and Kühner and Gerth (1898:387 with explicit reference to Classen). Krüger (1846:29–30) discussed the uses in Attic Greek, noting that the GA had a relation with the verb in the superordinated clause (which could also be a notion other than the temporal one) and in Homer he interpreted the GA as temporal, but noted that some examples with conditional meaning could already be found (1859:21).

genitive of cause, and/or of circumstance and/or the object genitive might have played a role as well.[24] The second theory (as argued by Ruppel 2013: Chapter 2, especially pages 39–41) considered the construction to be inherited. That poses the problem as to where the case usage came from. Others maintain a *non-liquet.*[25] In our opinion, the explanation as a secondary construction is more likely and it is possible to argue that all of the different usages of the genitive— not simply the temporal one—played a role. and not simply the temporal one. That the use of the genitive can be explained from within Greek can be shown by the following three examples.

> τοῦ δ' Ὀδυσεὺς μάλα θυμὸν **ἀποκταμένοιο** χολώθη.[26]
> "Because of his death Odysseus was very much enraged in his heart". (*Il.* 4.494)

In these lines, Homer describes how the death of a friend caused anger and grief in Odysseus. The genitive τοῦ is expected as *genitivus causae* with a *verbum affectuum* (here χολώθη). The participle ἀποκταμένοιο is connected to τοῦ and the original meaning was "because of him Odysseus became enraged, because / after he had died." In this instance, both the temporal and the causal meaning of the participle can be defended, although the causal one appears more likely. In my opinion, this example illustrates how the absolute constructions could have arisen. First, ἀποκταμένοιο was a *participium coniunctum* with τοῦ, which was a *genitivus causae* with χολώθη, but later τοῦ ἀποκταμένοιο was interpreted (or, better, could be interpreted) as an absolute construction "because / after he had died, Odysseus became enraged."

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24   The first to argue this was Wentzel (1811:24–26), followed by Vogrinz (1889:326); Delbrück (1897:484–485); Brugmann (1900:523–524); and Schwyzer and Debrunner (1950:398–399). Gildersleeve (*apud* Spieker 1885:312) stated that although he initially agreed with the fact that the temporal meaning was the original one, he had now become much more convinced that all notions (including the *ablatival* ones) were the reason why the construction could expand. Kunst (1922) argued that the temporal meaning prevailed with the participles in the present and the causal with those in the aorist, but did not argue (contrary to Classen) that the temporal was the original meaning.

25   Keydana (1997:31): "Die Frage, ob ABS (sc. Absolute Konstruktionen, FDD) der idg. Grundsprache angehören, ist nicht eindeutig zu beantworten.—34 So spricht zwar einiges für ein schon spätidg. Alter der ABS, mit Sicherheit kann man aber weder ihre Existenz bereits im Spätidg. noch ihre Entstehung in den Einzelsprachen behaupten)."

26   The genitive absolute (or the construction that could be interpreted as one) is in bold face.

ὣς ἄρα **φωνήσαντος** Ἐρινύες ἔσχεθον αὐδήν.
"After he had spoken in this way, the Erinyes removed his / the power to
speak".[27] (*Il.* 19.418)

After Achilles received his new armor, he geared for battle and mounted his
chariot. At that moment one of his horses, Xanthos, started to speak and pre-
dicted his death, adding that they, his horses, would not be to blame for this.
This line concludes Xanthos's speech. In this example, the genitival object of
ἔσχεθον αὐδήν "removed the speech from" is not expressed, but at the same time
this understood object has a *participium coniunctum* with an adverb and a par-
ticle added to it, ὣς ἄρα φωνήσαντος. In this sentence, ὣς ἄρα φωνήσαντος can
also be (re)interpreted as an absolute construction "after he had spoken, the
Erinyes removed the power of speech."

    The following example is quoted the most to show that the genitive abso-
lute had already been fully established as absolute construction in Homeric
Greek.

88   οὔ τις ἐμεῦ **ζῶντος** καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ **δερκομένοιο**
89   σοὶ κοίλης παρὰ νηυσί βαρείας χεῖρας ἐποίσει
90   συμπάντων Δαναῶν, οὐδ' ἢν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἴπῃς,
91   ὃς νῦν πολλὸν ἄριστος ἐνὶ στρατῷ εὔχεται εἶναι
      "No-one from all the Danaans will raise his heavy hands against you at
      the hollow ships as long as I am alive and look upon the earth, not even
      when you name Agamemnon who claims by far to the best in the army".
      (*Il.* 1.88–91)

In these lines, Achilles emphatically reassures the seer Calchas that nobody will
ever be able to raise his hands against him as long as he, Achilles, is alive and
present in the army. Because ἐμεῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο has no appar-
ent function in the sentence, contains two participles and is expanded by a
prepositional object, it is argued that this is a genuine absolute construction.
However, this explanation can be questioned. First of all, ἐμεῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ
χθονὶ δερκομένοιο is used within the sentence and not at the end or at the begin-
ning (right- or left-dislocated) and second, it is indispensable for the meaning of
the sentence. The sentence does not mean "nobody will raise his hands against
you …" but rather "nobody will raise his hands against you **because of me …**"

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27   See also De Decker (2015:154–155). This verse was not discussed in Kunst (1922); Keydana
      (1997); nor in Ruppel (2013:233–234, where she listed all GAs in Homer).

(emphasis mine). The interpretation of ἐμεῦ as a *genitivus causae* and that of ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο as conjunct participles is, therefore, certainly possible and may even be preferable. It must be conceded, however, that the structure of these specific lines points at a more elaborate poetic creation, with the postposed conditional clause οὐδ᾿ ἢν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἴπῃς and the very forceful hyperbaton οὔ τις … συμπάντων Δαναῶν (which appears in the same line as Agamemnon, the culprit for the current problems).

After having discussed the examples and (hopefully) showing that the absolute constructions originally had a defined function within the sentence, two other important elements should be pointed out in this discussion. First, for their absolute constructions, both Greek and Latin made use of the case that was most often used in an adverbial sense (e.g., temporal, causal, circumstantial, and in Greek a case that could be used with *verba sentiendi* and the *verba affectuum*). This makes it much more probable that a construction in a case with these nuances would evolve into an absolute construction and that the assumption of a borrowing is very unlikely (it would not explain the Latin use anyway). Second, it is also very difficult to see how a construction that was uncommon at best (and in fact very rare, if not downright non-existent) in Hittite would have been able to create a construction that became so commonly used in Greek.

2.1.4   An Overall Assessment of the Alleged Morpho-syntactic Isoglosses

In light of the linguistic data presented and discussed here, inner-Greek explanations are available for all of the alleged morpho-syntactic isoglosses: the modal particle does not mark modality, but instead has a deictic meaning, and the indicative is not the oldest mood in the constructions of the unreal; the forms with the iterative suffix in Greek are not imperfective, but are instead subject to the same aspectual differences as the verbs without that suffix; and the use of the genitive in the absolute constructions can be explained from the different uses of the genitive, such as cause, circumstance, and time.

Therefore, the adduced morpho-syntactic isoglosses do not pass the test and cannot be used to prove linguistic contact between Greek and Hittite.

2.2   *Phraseology and Literary Topoi*

Phraseological correspondences are intended as interferences among parts of texts. This also involves the fact that cultural contact is part of the question. However, it should be kept in mind that although the two dimensions—cultural contact and language contact—can very possibly overlap *de facto* (a literary motif can be in fact modeled on a foreign tradition), they must be kept separate *de iure*. This means that, theoretically, there is no need for correspon-

dence between cultural traits, social practices, rituals, literatures, etc., and their linguistic expression.[28]

In recent decades, a number of scholars from both sides of Greek and Anatolian studies have dealt with the possible interference at the level of phraseology and formulaic poetic expressions, often inserting the research in the broader paradigm of Indo-European poetry.[29]

Among the earliest works in a contact perspective, a series of contributions by Jaan Puhvel (1983; 1988; 1991; 1993) focused on possible examples of syntactic Anatolian influence in Homeric Greek, also considering the comparison of formulaic scenes and literary *topoi* found in Homeric poems compared with the Anatolian documentation.

The discussion will deal with some of those examples, found in the literature, for which a possible Anatolian influence cannot be ruled out *a priori*, and was supported by some scholars with reasonable arguments. The choice of examples was guided by the fact that they appeared in some of the most relevant studies on the subject and that each of the scholars provided a slightly different perspective on the same topic, which hence deserves discussion and further study. For these reasons, data collection itself is far from simple and straightforward, precisely because of the lack of consensus among scholars, as will be evident from the examples discussed below.

2.3 *The Verbal Form προθέουσιν in* Iliad *1.291*

Puhvel (1988) proposed an Anatolian interference for the following passage:

> εἰ δέ μιν αἰχμητὴν ἔθεσαν θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες
> τοὔνεκά οἱ προθέουσιν ὀνείδεα μυθήσασθαι;
> "Even if the gods who live forever have made him a warrior,
> do they therefore προθέουσιν to speak reproach?" (*Iliad* 1.290–291)

The question concerns the meaning of προθέουσιν: according to Puhvel, rather than being a form of προτίθημι 'to put before, order,' it would be a form of προθέω 'to run before, to run ahead,' comparable with Hitt. *peran ḫuwai-*, with the same meaning, both used in a figurative sense, the former with the meaning of 'to let, to give free rein' and the latter 'to help along, expedite.' The Greek figurative sense is thus modeled on the Hittite one, and the final sense is: "Even if the

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28 Similarly to what happens in borrowing phenomena: a given object could be borrowed by a culture from another, with or without the linguistic designation it has in the model society (see Merlin 2020:502–503).

29 For a precise and critical state of the art, see Dardano (2013:125–133) with references.

gods have sponsored his battlefield prowess, does that mean that they also give him free rein to spout insults to his commander-in-chief?" (Puhvel 1988:592). In contrast, Aristarchus (3rd–2nd century BCE), among ancient commentators, believed that the grammatical subject is ὀνείδεα 'reproach,' reading the sentence as "do the insults to be uttered run out of his mouth?" Although Puhvel is skeptical on this point, Chantraine (1948:17–19) collects a number of cases for which a plural subject agrees with an unexpected plural verb, for both metrical and semantic reasons (e.g., *Il.* 2.135 καὶ δὴ δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν καὶ σπάρτα λέλυνται "and the timbers of our ships have rotted away and the cables are broken" and *Il.* 15.713–714 πολλὰ δὲ φάσγανα καλὰ μελάνδετα κωπήεντα ἄλλα μὲν ἐκ χειρῶν χαμά-δις πέσον [...] "and many magnificent swords were scattered along the ground, black-thonged, heavy-hilted, sometimes dropping from the hands.")[30]

Puhvel goes so far as to speculate (albeit cautiously) sociolinguistic reasons, imagining that the author of the text might have been non-native Greek and perhaps Lydian, also recalling that "A Hipponactian touch of bilingualism may not have been alien to whoever formulated the phraseology of 1.290–291" (Puhvel 1988:152).

However, later studies have shown that there are not insignificant problems in both the Greek and Anatolian sides: Hackstein (2002:112–115) traced the verbal form προθέουσιν back to προτίθημι 'to put before, order.' Nonetheless, morphological problems persist in the lack of reduplication and the thematic endings, but this can find complementary explanations, invoking the blurred rules determined by the Homeric *Kunstsprache*.[31]

Simon (2024)[32] has stressed the fact Puhvel's suggestions are, in fact, based on a misreading and inaccurate interpretation of Anatolian texts: in one case, the figurative sense as 'to help' is not appropriate (*peran huwiyatallaš=ma* ᵐ*Ann[aš? pera]n huiyanza ēšta* [KUB 19.18 i 13, dupl. KBo 14.3 iv 17–18], which in accordance with HW² (III:646, 803–805) means "The leader [lit. who runs before] Ann[a] led [*scil.* the troop from Arzawa])." In other texts (e.g., *warraš uddani šumeš mahhan para huyadduma* in KUB 23.72 rev. 20) the Hittite verb is a different one, namely *para huwai-* 'herauskommen' (HW² III:803), which is, by contrast, considered the same verb by Puhvel (1988:592). The picture of Anatolian data could be improved by observing Luwian occurrences:

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30   Translation by R. Lattimore, Chicago Homer.

31   This argument is mentioned in the review by Haug (2003a), then in the answer (Hackstein 2003) and the counter-answer (Haug 2003b). On this specific point, they both seem to converge on the idea that προθέουσιν is still partly unintelligible and that the force of *Kunstsprache* is undeniable.

32   We wish to acknowledge Zsolt Simon for sharing his works before they were published.

Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies (1993) focus on formulae containing the expression of 'running before' with the meaning of 'help' in the sense of 'come to the aid of someone,' said of gods. This would be compatible with the idea of a Greek semantic change of the verb προθέω that also takes the meaning of 'come to help' modeled on an image derived from Anatolian poetry. However, this solution does not appear to perfectly capture the meaning of the Homeric verse in question.

From a different perspective, Dardano (2013:131–132), after presenting the motif of the course by libation,[33] argues that the proposal by Puhvel (1988) is "un altro esempio di forzatura dei dati omerici alla luce della tradizione vicino-orientale": she follows Hackstein (2002) although the text gains little in terms of meaning. By contrast, Hajnal (2017:2043) accepts Puhvel's version, without any particular discussion, thereby speaking in favor of the validity of the Homeric–Hittite parallel.

Another possibility is to link the Greek form to a third verb, neither προθέω nor προτίθημι, but προθίημι,[34] a possible alternative form of προσίημι 'let come to or near one, admit, allow' (LSJ, s.v. προσίημι). This hypothesis makes the Greek text clearer and comes closer to Puhvel's interpretation, without resorting to a figurative development of the verb προθέω. Still, the relationship with the Hittite formulae remains problematic, and at the same time the answer may not be so definitively against a possibly contact-induced semantic shift.

Finally, it is also possible that the Greek verb is a vestige of a previous formula and then, in the genesis of the Homeric text, comes to be in a new structure without completely losing its meaning. The final part of the verse, ὀνείδεα μυθήσασθαι, is also found in *Il.* 20.246: ἔστι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισιν ὀνείδεα μυθήσασθαι "we can both speak reproach," in a different combination. In this sense, one may also think of a secondary reformulation of formulae: for the verse in question, προθέουσιν could have entered into such a particular construction with the infinitive, because the second part of the verse was already available as a formulaic expression.

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33 Dardano (2013:129, with references) presents a case of a parallel between Hittite and Homeric texts that did not lead to convincing results because the correspondences are too vague or general. In *Il.* 3.298–301, it is stated that to the cursed the brain will flow like wine. Starke (1997:483) considers this expression to be an echo of the ritual in which the soul of the cursed shall flow like water (KUB 13.3 ii 29–iii 2), an image moreover widespread in Akkadian literature. See also Dardano (2018) for a discussion on the verbs connected to the semantic field of 'pour' in Hittite and other Indo-European languages.

34 See GI, s.v.

2.4   *Biting the Earth*

Greek and Hittite show a similar expression used as figurative language, or simply euphemism, for 'die': the Hittite phrase GE₆-*in* KI-*an* (= *dankuin daganzipan*) *wāga ēp*, lit. "seize and bite the dark earth,"[35] and the Greek γαῖαν ὀδὰξ λάζομαι (*Il.* 2.418, 11.749, 19.59, etc.), lit. "to grasp the earth by biting with the teeth." The adverb ὀδάξ belongs to the class of -ξ adverbs (as πύξ 'with the fist,' λάξ 'with the heel,' per Schwyzer 1953:620 a crystallized genitive-ablative form); despite the various explanations proposed (GEW, DELG), we think that both the verb ὀδαξάω and ὀδάξω 'feel pain or irritation, scratch oneself' (LSJ) are inherited. An etymological explanation is provided by Hesychius (ο 64) ὀδάξει· τοῖς ὀδοῦσι δάκνει "what bites with its teeth," in which the active meaning of 'to bite' appears as the *action* of the pain which bites, thus causing irritation.

Dardano (2013:138–144), recalling the distinction made by Kiparsky (1976), assumes that in Homeric Greek it is a flexible formula, from both the lexical and structural points of view: a lexical variant is ὀδὰξ ἕλον οὖδας "they grasped the soil with their teeth" (*Il.* 11.749), also with a possible insertion as in ὀδὰξ ἕλον ἄσπετον οὖδας "they grasped the large soil with their teeth" (*Od.* 22.269). This expression for 'die' is used for common people, not heroes.

It is interesting to observe that in at least one case in Greek there is also an optative form:

416   […] πολέες δ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι
417   πρηνέες ἐν κονίῃσιν ὀδὰξ λαζοίατο γαῖαν.
       "And numerous around him the comrades prone in the dust bite the earth
       with their teeth." (*Il.* 2.416–417)

Dardano (2013:143–144) concludes that, in this case, we are really dealing with a possible Greek calque on the Hittite model, although it is an imperfect calque, because the model is not faithfully reproduced in every part. In fact, the absence of a perfect correspondence does not necessarily lead to a negation of a possible Anatolian influence on the Homeric formula. While Watkins (2007) has shown the deep structure of superficially different formulae, West (1997) has spoken of lexical renewal; and García-Ramón (2008) of *Ersatzcontinuanten*,[36] a concept that should not be used too easily but which still has

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35   Dardano (2013), following previous interpretations, assumes that the Hittite formula shows two imperatives in asyndeton, where *ēp* is rather a discourse-marker, 'come on!'

36   One of the first works to inaugurate the perspective of content correspondences in Indo-European poetic formulae was Campanile (1977).

validity in some cases, especially in poetics, in the interpretation of both inherited formulae or constructed after foreign models. It has been observed (see Simon forthcoming-b), that such an image might be a universal one, based on a natural phenomenon, also found in modern languages, both Indo-European and otherwise.[37]

However, despite such an admittedly shareable observation, one should not forget—especially with regard to idiomatic expressions and figurative language—that they may have reached modern languages in a long and intricate textual transmission spanning centuries of tradition, without resorting to the idea that modern languages borrowed it directly from Greek or Hittite. All in all, although the image may be trivial in itself, the linguistic expression containing a reference to teeth, to the action of biting, to the earth, or even to dust, with the euphemistic meaning of 'dying' is still relevant because it is not entirely trivial and obvious.

Another point of discussion is raised by the phrase γαῖα μέλαινα 'black soil,' which appears in the Greek texts, although not in this specific formula. Hajnal (2017:2043) claims that it is a foreign phraseme, from Hitt. *dankuiš daganzipaš* (nom.), *dankui daganzipi/taknī* (dat.) and the like, for which the Anatolians were the transmitters but not the creators, having modeled it on Hurrian, on the basis of a Hurrian–Hittite bilingual (Hurr. *timerrē ešeni dūri* in KBo 32.13 i 10 = Hitt. *kattanta tankuwai taknī* (ibid. ii 10). In Greek, the expression γαῖα μέλαινα essentially belongs to the high register, being attested fewer than 100 times, mostly in Homer and related commentaries (as Eustathius) or scholia, then also in Hesiod and some lyric poets (Alcman, Theognis, Bacchylides). Again, if the image of the dark soil might be absolutely natural—even universal— the formula, attested only in epic of epic-inspired texts, could be the echo of correspondent formulae found in Near Eastern tradition.

2.5 *Form and Meanings (and Rituality) of* διέτμαγεν

Hajnal (2018:2043), following Puhvel (1988:592–593), ascribes to the group of translated borrowing the Hom. διέτμαγεν 'they part,' a form of διατμήγω 'cut through,' an epic parallel of διατέμνω possibly modeled on Hitt. *šarra-* 'cut; leave.' In fact, the etymology of this verb is not completely clear: DÉLG claims that it morphologically belongs to τέμνω, for which three stems are identified: a) a vocalic stem in /o/, as in τόμος 'chunk, fragment,' *et sim.*; b) a bisyllabic stem in /e/, like in τέμενος 'piece of land, precinct'; and c) a zero-grade τμη, of which

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the verb διατμήγω is a derivation, with the meaning of 'to separate' and in the passive 'to separate from each other,' or 'to part.'[38]

In Homeric Greek, the verb appears in different constructions: it means 'to separate, to break, to cut' in, e.g., [...] διατμῆξαι κοῖλον δόρυ νηλέϊ χαλκῷ (*Od.* 8.507) "to split the hollow tree, with ruthless bronze."[39] It is also used in the sense of 'cross,' although it may be not necessary to resort to a different meaning, if one intends the action of crossing as separating into two parts at the passage; this is the case, for instance, of νηχόμενος τόδε λαῖτμα διέτμαγον (*Od.* 7.275–276) "I swam and crossed that gulf" (lit. "I crossed that gulf swimming") and similarly τόδε λαῖτμα διατμήξας ἐπέρησα [...] αὐτὰρ ἐγώ γε (*Od.* 5.409–410) "I crossed this gulf, plowing through it," although the verb appears as the *participium coniunctum* to the full verb περάω '*pass right across* or *through* a space, *traverse*, freq. of water' (LSJ). Finally, it has the reflexive/intransitive meaning of 'to part' in formulaic constructions such as Τώ γ' ὣς βουλεύσαντε διέτμαγεν· ἦ μὲν ἔπειτα "so these two who had made their plans separated, and she [*scil.* Thetis] ..." (*Il.* 1.531).[40]

Puhvel (1988:592–593) quotes the following Hittite examples: l-*anki=ya=aš šarrattat* "and he at once departed," and *n=at* l-*anki šarrer* "they at once depart," which both belong to poetic compositions. However, as Simon (2024) rightly observed, according to the CHD š:238, these specific occurrences would rather have the meaning of 'to cross all at once,' which can be in fact an expansion of the basic meaning, as mentioned before.

It is important to stress that in Hittite, as well, the meaning of 'to part' is attested for the verb *šarra*, used in the middle voice, and frequently combined with the preverb *arha*, e.g., DUMU^MEŠ=*ŠU«NU»=ma=za arha šarrandat* "His sons, however, split up" KBo 3.4 ii 52–53; and also with *hanti* ÉRIN^MEŠ-*az=miš=a hanti šarrattati* "But my troops split up into separate (groups)" KUB 58.48 iv 15–16 (see CHD š:232).

Puhvel may not have chosen the best example, but the meaning of 'to part' is nonetheless attested for this verb. Should we speak in favor of a sure semantic

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38 EDG substantially follows this analysis, with the difference of establishing a different separate entry for the verb, as GEW previously did. For the morphology, Chantraine (1948:392, 400) claims first that διέτμαγον is a secondary formation based on the third plural person of the passive τμάγεν, and then that, as often happens in Homer, the aorist passive has an intransitive or stative meaning, thus the third plural form διέτμαγεν, of διέτμαγην, means 'se séparer.'

39 Cf. διατμήξας in *Od.* 12.173–174 "Then I cut through a big round cake of wax and kneaded a little bit of it in my will-knit hands." Translation by J. Huddleston, Chicago Homer.

40 The same formula appears in *Od.* 13.439 "so the two plotted and parted. She then [...]." Translation by J. Huddleston, Chicago Homer.

calque in Homeric Greek? As Puhvel (1993:36) himself observed in a complementary comment: "The reason was mainly that διατέμνω 'cut through' in extra-Homeric Greek never has such a secondary sense, which is thus a peculiarity of Asianic epic diction. Apart from this *argumentum e silentio*, the idea remained hanging on a question mark."

Therefore, it is not possible to give a definitive answer. The contact is possible, and it becomes more likely if we consider that we are in the domain of poetic composition.

2.6 *Between Language and Culture*

Hajnal (2017:2042–2045) provides a classification of phraseological borrowings from the Greek perspective, according to which the different case studies could belong to three distinct groups, namely: a) translated borrowings, b) adoption of foreign phrasemes, and c) reflexes of a foreign ritual, economic, or socio-cultural practice.

Regarding the first group, let us add that a translated borrowing could be alternatively referred to as a *semantic calque*, or a *loan translation*, being a contact-induced semantic change occurring in a given lexical item which, unlike a simple borrowing, does not share with the model the formal part (the *signifiant*). The cases of both προθέυσιν and διέτμαγεν discussed above would belong to this category, in accordance with Puhvel's (1988) proposal. According to Puhvel (1993), also the Hom. ἐν δέ μιν αὐτὸν εὗρε "he found him there" is modeled on Hitt. *anda ... wemiya-* 'get together, meet.'

The twofold naming of Trojan heroes in the *Iliad* would be part of the same contact phenomenon. According to Watkins (1998:206–211), for example, Hector's son, called Skamandrios by his father, but Astyanax by the others (*Il.* 6.402–403: τόν ῥ' Ἕκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι | Ἀστυάνακτ' · οἶος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἕκτωρ): the native Anatolian name would be the former (to be connected with the river Skamandros, which also bears the Greek name of Xanthos in *Il.* 20.74),[41] whereas the latter is the Greek one.

Also the Hom. κυάνεαι ὀφρύες 'dark eyebrows' is added to this same category, possibly modeled on CLuw. *kuwannani-* 'eyebrow' (Högemann 2000:29). However, the picture is more complex: Giusfredi (2018) has shown that the meaning of 'eyebrow' for Luwian *kuwannani-* is tentative and also that in Homer the words related to κύανος (e.g., *Il.* 1.528 the dative plural κυανέῃσιν) are used as attributes of the word for 'eyebrows,' not being the word for 'eyebrows' itself.

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41   For the etymology of Σκάμανδρος, see also Tsitsibakou-Vasalos (2000).

The second group (that of foreign phrasemes) consists of structural calques, namely those renderings of phrases, collocations and idiomatic expressions, which can be very broadly defined as follows "A phrase [phraseologismus] is a syntactically complex fixed expression" (Lehmann, LiDo, s.v. phraseologism).[42] The expression γαῖα μέλαινα discussed above may belong to this category.

Hajnal considers a further example to be part of this same group, starting again from Puhvel's research (1983:221–223, 1991:10–11), according to which the first part of the Hom. *Il.* 6.73–74 αἳ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν κῆρες ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ | ἐζέσθην, Τρώων δὲ πρὸς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἄερθεν "the dooms of Achaeans sank to the nourishing earth, whereas [those of] Trojans raised up to the wide sky" is compared with Hitt. ᴳᴵˢ*elzi=mit=wa taknā aršikket* (KBo 6.13 i 6–8) "he has planted my scale-tray in the earth." It is worth mentioning that Puhvel does not claim so explicitly that the Greek text is subordinate to the Hittite one; rather, he observes that "the Homeric and Hittite usages reflect common idiom referring figuratively to a twin-scale, center-mounted weighing contraption such as the Greek τάλαντα and the Latin *bilanx libra*. Such idioms occur in actual ritual and legal use in Hittite but survives only embedded in literary imagery in the Asianic Homeric tradition" (Puhvel 1991:11).[43] The mention of Latin leads to the context of common Indo-European; however, possible contacts are not ruled out, even if only at the level of imagery and connected phraseology within the Greek of Asia Minor, which may have come into contact with Anatolian patterns. Such *Anatolianisms*, as Puhvel defines them (1991:9–12), are not in contradiction with a possible common inheritance, despite our scientific desire to perfectly distinguish these components.

The third group is intended to contain those Greek reflexes of an Anatolian ritual, economic, or socio-cultural practice, for which normally a phraseological parallel is also attested, although this is not needed. The focus here is no longer on linguistic expression limited to the morphology of single lemmas or phrases, but instead addresses the text as a whole, its semantic content, and possibly its overall textual structure.

In this perspective, the invocation of gods in *Il.* 3.276–280 has been analyzed by Puhvel (1991:9–10) as modeled on Anatolian patterns, because of the pres-

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42   This definition, together with a number of similar ones, traces back to Bally's seminal work on stylistics (1951:66–79). Among the numerous works on phraseology, a general overview of topics and approaches is provided by Cowie (1998) and Granger and Meunier (eds, 2008).

43   Such an "Asianic" component of the Greek text was again invoked in Puhvel (1993:36, see above). See also Puhvel (1993:37): "In this manner it is possible to probe for an Asianic *subtext* of Homer and measure an underlay which resonates in many a peculiarity of Greek epic utterance."

ence in Greek of Storm God, Sun God, rivers, and earth invoked as witnesses of the oath. The main point is represented by the invocation of Zeus Idaean and the Sun "who all sees and all hears." Similarly, Starke (1997:483) claims that the pacts and oaths described in the third book of the *Iliad* are influenced by Hittite oaths of allegiance. Then, Watkins (2002:167–169) assumes that the passage in *Il.* 5.472–474 provides an example of a quadripartite structure of brotherhood and alliance modeled on an Anatolian pattern of social stratification.

The Greek text is the following:

472 Ἕκτορ πῇ δή τοι μένος οἴχεται ὃ πρὶν ἔχεσκες;
473 φῂς που ἄτερ λαῶν πόλιν ἑξέμεν ἠδ' ἐπικούρων
474 οἷος σὺν γαμβροῖσι κασιγνήτοισί τε σοῖσι.
       "Hector, where now is the force gone that before you had? You said once
       that without men and allies you would hold the city alone with the aid of
       your sisters' husbands and your brothers."[44]

> *Il.* 5.472–474

The Anatolian counterpart is the text transmitted by the Proclamation of Telipinu (CTH 19, §1), where a quadripartite organization the two parameters of, on one hand, blood and alliance, and on the other, close and distant, is described below in the following table (reproduced and adapted from Watkins (2002:168–169)

Hittite	Greek	Hittite	Greek
Close male relatives by blood	Brothers by birth	Close male relatives by marriage	Brothers by marriage
DUMUᴹᴱˢ-*šU* SESᴹᴱˢ-*šU*	Κασίγνητοι	LÚᴹᴱˢ *gaenaš=šešš=a*	γαμβροί
Partisans by kin fealty	Partisans by birth	Partisans by allegiance	Partisans by alliance
LÚᴹᴱˢ*haššannaš=šaš*	Λαοί	ERINᴹᴱˢ-*šU*	ἐπίκουροι

In the same article, Watkins (2002:171–176) analyzed the uses of the Greek object referred as αἰγίς '(shield of) goatskin' suggesting that they are rooted in the Hittite cult object ᴷᵁˢ*kuršaš* 'hunting pouch,' also basing his argument

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44 Translation Murray, Loeb 1924.

on stylistic parallels, e.g., Hitt. *n=ašta anda ... kitta* 'and inside there is ...'
(KUB 17.10+ iv 28–29; CTH 324.1) and *Il.* 5.740 in which the structure ἐν δ' ...
appears with the meaning of 'in it.'

The research of Bachvarova fits very well into this last category of Anatolian influences in epic Greek. In particular, Bachvarova (2016) collects and discusses, on the basis of a very extensive bibliography, a number of questions for which a possible Anatolian influence in Greek could be supposed. As claimed by the author (Bachvarova 2016:12), the aim of her book is to show how Greek epics in the widest sense drew on Syro-Anatolian predecessors, by means of an improved methodology in order to analyze the relationships between the cultures (first and before the languages!) on each side of the eastern Mediterranean, suggesting possible reasons at the basis of the East-to-West transmission of oral poetry and textual motifs.

Without wading into the details of the discussion (see also Yakubovich 2017b), some observations are worth mentioning: the new model for contacts suggested by Bachvarova (2016, esp. 219–265) is that of the oral contact between performers in religious contexts or festivals, a model that should replace that of contact between scribes via written texts. The primacy of oral over the written text is nonetheless visible in the "oral-derived texts that allows us to hear the voices of illiterate singers, spell-casters, and storytellers, however indirectly" (see Bachvarova 2016:178–182).

In our view, what such a model still has in common with the different scenario of a written transmission is the concept of *long-distance interaction* (see in particular Bachvarova 2016:199–218). All in all, the main idea, in Bachvarova's terms, is that Near Eastern rituals "[...] gave opportunities for Greek-speakers to observe performers of verbal art and to borrow elements seen to be efficacious or compelling" (2016:218).

Another important element in the discussion of cultural contacts is the so-called survivals, that is, of the re-emergence in a given culture (and literature) of elements that are not attested for a certain period but that come from a different and earlier cultural context. One example is given by a passage by Herodotus (7.39–40)[45] describing a ritual of purification for the army. As illustrated by Masson 1950, this passage has a parallel in a Hittite ritual of purification, which has not only ancient but also modern parallels up to the 19th century. The core of the ritual is to pass between the two parts of the sacrificed victim. In the Greek text, Pythius of Lycia asks that one of his sons be

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45   A later version of a very similar ritual is transmitted by Livy (40.6, referring to the year 182 BCE) based in turn on Polybius. For further texts and references, see Masson (1950:10–11).

excused from the war so that he could take care of him as he is now an old man (Herodotus 7.38). But Xerxes, deeply angered, orders instead that one of his sons be sacrificed, his body divided in half and the army marched through the middle.[46] Xerxes's reaction seems disproportionately cruel; nonetheless, the rite itself recalls the Hittite rite of purification, in this case a propitiatory rite of good fortune, especially directed to the army.

To conclude, from the theoretical point of view, contemporary research aims to distinguish the levels as much as possible. First, it is necessary to separate the cultural data from the linguistic ones in the strict sense: on the one hand, literary themes; on the other hand, linguistic correspondences. Second, the hypotheses of linguistic correspondences should be screened according to certain parameters that can be summarized as follows: a linguistic feature may be the result of a monogenetic or polygenetic development. The polygenesis of features, likely to emerge independently, explains that two different languages show the same linguistic feature, which can be due to a human universal (a very common idea that could arise and be expressed in different languages with no difficulty) or to an accidental similarity (e.g., Eng. *have* and Germ. *haben* end up resembling the It. *avere* (< Lat. *habeo*) despite not sharing its etymology, being in fact cognates of Lat. *capere* 'to grasp'). The monogenesis of features that are unlikely to emerge independently accounts for both inherited and contact phenomena. In some cases, however, as shown in the previous discussion, it is not so obvious and simple to ascribe phenomena into a single type, as different scenarios could be designed and suggested.

3   Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, we focused on Homer as an expression of a complex and layered literary reality and possible multi-level connections with the Anatolian world. On the one hand, the linguistic analysis has shown that for each of the morpho-syntactic isoglosses between Homeric Greek and Anatolian that we considered (and that are often regarded as contact-induced phenomena),

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46   Herodotus 7.39.3: ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προσετέτακτο ταῦτα πρήσσειν, τῶν Πυθίου παίδων ἐξευρόντας τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμεῖν, διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά, καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν, "With that reply, he immediately ordered those who were assigned to do these things to find the eldest of Pythius's sons and cut him in half, then to set one half of his body on the right side of the road and the other on the left, so that the army would pass between them." Translation Godley, Loeb 1920.

inner-Greek explanations are generally available. On the other hand, phraseo-logical correspondences—provided that they do not reflect inherited features or independent developments—can attest to cultural contacts only at the lit-erary level, rather than suggesting a situation of proper language contact. In conclusion, cultural influence at the level of literature and shared phraseolo-gies seems the most likely scenario, while proper language contact is not con-clusively proven.

The Problem of the Scholarly and Late Evidence: Anatolian Glosses in Greek

Stella Merlin

1   Introduction

In the previous chapters, we have focused on the Bronze Age evidence and on the problem of a hypothetical early Pre-Greek substrate, which allegedly may have affected different languages and groups of languages in the eastern Mediterranean. In order to proceed with the evidence from the Iron Age and the first millennium BCE in general, it is necessary to address the problem of a specific type of lexical evidence—that deriving from the so-called *glosses*—which must be taken into consideration. In previous scholarly studies, in fact, it was often mixed with direct epigraphic evidence, even though an important epistemological difference clearly exists.[1]

2   Types of Sources and Types of Evidence

In any ancient literate tradition, the written evidence can be categorized based on how likely it is to reflect a true use of the language. In the case of the relationship between Greek and the Anatolian languages, this fact leads, first of all, to the very obvious distinction between epigraphic and literary materials, even though arguing that epigraphs reflect a less literary register is not necessarily without risk. Epigraphs may indeed be extremely literary, or, on the contrary, they can also be extremely schematic or even follow prestigious diaphasic traditions that reflect earlier stages of a language. However, even when one leaves epigraphs aside and concentrates on the proper literary tradition—which can be defined quite easily in the case of the Greek textual production—there are two different types of evidence: on the one hand, the literary works; on the other, the scholarly ones. This distinction is somewhat reminiscent of that which lies between primary and secondary sources, respectively, even though

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1   For a comprehensive theoretical overview, see Prosdocimi 1989.

the concept must be transposed to the analysis of the canonized literary tradition. More generally, one could argue that, with all the caveats we just mentioned, epigraphs are a more *direct* type of evidence than literary works transmitted philologically to us, and in turn literary works are more *direct* than later commentaries written by ancient scholars.[2]

Indeed, in the context of the research on the contacts between Ancient Greek and the Anatolian languages, primary literary sources are expected to be metalinguistically implicit, because their main aim is not to analyze language, but rather to convey narrative contents and to produce some stylistic or aesthetic effect. In other words, a foreign word used by a poet is not primarily presented as such, but generally it is merely employed, or it may have been chosen to produce some sort or text-pragmatic or rhetorical effect (which does not necessarily depend on it being rare or perceived as foreign). Consequently, the degree of metalinguistic awareness about lexical interference is usually not explicitly declared, which prevents us from assessing the level of integration of a lexical element into the target language in the synchronic perspective of the author, who may have used a clearly foreign word or a word of foreign origin that was, by the time a work was composed, completely integrated into the Greek *langue*. On the other hand, and exactly for this reason, primary literary sources are generally considered to be more authentic than scholarly sources in terms of language use, despite the possible constraints imposed by the literary genres. The primary literary sources for Ancient Greek are represented by all the production belonging to different genres—both in prose and poetry—such as epic, tragedy, comedy, historiography, geography, philosophy, and science.

By contrast, secondary literary sources are represented by the linguistic, grammatical, and rhetorical production, with all the texts belonging to the Ancient Greek scholarship, such as commentaries, scholia, lexica, and collections of glosses. These were generally written starting from the Hellenistic period (3rd–1st century BCE) and until the Byzantine and Medieval times (6th–14th centuries CE).[3] Defined as "text on text, text about a text" (Montanari et al. 2015: xi) such sources—having first and foremost a metalinguistic function—are the erudite works directed to the commentary of different authors and works of different times. Being directed to the analysis of language, they show an explicit interest in the etymology, lexical selection, and stylistic choices. In modern linguistic terms, ancient stylistics includes the analysis of morpho-

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2 On the concepts of direct and indirect evidence, see Merlin et al. (2024a).

3 For the periodization of the Greek language, see, e.g., Jannaris (1897) and, more recently, Christidis (2007).

syntactic features.[4] Secondary sources are generally explicit (e.g., they report a given form as dialectal or foreign) and show a high degree of metalinguistic awareness (regardless, of course, of the actual accuracy of the analyses proposed).[5] In fact, scholarly evidence may be less indicative of true language use, especially when the lemma considered is a *hapax* figuring in only one author of the scholarly tradition (e.g., μῶλαξ is attested only in Hesychius μ 2030 as a possible Lydian gloss).[6] Furthermore, the large temporal gap between the original work and the commentaries makes it impossible to establish whether the linguistic awareness of the commentator is a good proxy for the linguistic awareness of the literary author. Nevertheless, every linguistic item (word or structure) transmitted by an ancient lexical collection is a precious clue that opens the path for a deeper understanding of a broader picture.

2.1 *The Scholarly Evidence: Glosses and Glossaries*

From the perspective of the ancients, a gloss is any difficult or rare word that needs an explanation, frequently taking the form of a paraphrase or of a substitution by a more common word or group of words. For instance, in a famous passage of his *Poetics*, Aristotle mentioned σίγυνον as a Cyprian word, saying that it is a common word for Cyprians, but an uncommon one for (other) Greeks. The assumption is that a γλῶττα is any *strange* noun—or word, more generally—intended as non-common (in some cases, even foreign) to a given linguistic community taken as a standard, but which can instead be common in a different one.[7] Our example is an isolated gloss; we are dealing with a literary source (here Aristotle's *Poetics*), which in this case also serves as the carrier of

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4 For a general overview on authors and themes of the scholarly tradition, see Dickey (2007); for the discussion on single problems, see Montanari and Pagani (2011). See also Montanari (2020).

5 However, this is not always the case, and the metalinguistic description can be incomplete. Some words are not labeled as non-Greek by the ancient source; e.g., ἀντικένσωρ (Hesychius α 5421) must be the Greek rendering of Latin *antecessor*, even though the Roman/Latin origin is not mentioned.

6 For a possible Indo-European etymology and possible Anatolian cognates, see Kaczyńska (2022).

7 See *Poet.* 1457b 3–6; cf. *Rh.* 1406a 7 ff. For the word σίγυνον, see also Herodotus 5.9.3 in which the same word has different meanings: it first indicates a people living in the north of Thrace; for Ligurians in Massalia it means 'merchant' but 'lance' for Cyprians. Such a homonymy appears to be a coincidence, even though Herodotus briefly mentioned the passing of time (also for language change?) when he reports that Sigynnans considered themselves as Median settlers. "These men's borders, it is said, reach nigh as far as the Eneti on the Adriatic Sea. They call themselves colonists from Media. How this has come about I myself cannot understand; but all is possible in the long ages of time. However that be, we know that the Ligyes who dwell

scholarly evidence, thus having in fact a metalinguistic function. The passage mentioned above cannot be considered as literary evidence, because the word is not inserted in any utterance for sake of stylistic effect; instead, it is merely mentioned and explained. The example also serves us very well in showing how the ancient author's linguistic awareness can, in some cases, point to true linguistic phenomena. In this case, it is worth noting that the form mentioned by Aristotle as unusual can be indeed explained in the light of language contact, comparing it with the Hitt. verb *šai-/šiye-* 'to throw' (cf. *šiyattal* 'javelin'), even though the details and the morphology of the possible loanword (apparently a compound of some sort) remain obscure.

Similar examples of glosses in literary works are also provided by Herodotus's *Histories*, e.g., the word κίκι said to be the Egyptian word for the σιλλικύπριον (namely the σέσελι Κύπριον) a medical plant, *Ricinus communis*, from which the so-called castor oil is derived.[8] Strabo's *Geography* also offers some examples of glosses from different languages or dialects, e.g., πελείας, which would mean 'old' in the language of Molossians (*Geogr*. 7.fr.1a, 2) or, in the Italic context, *hirpos*, which means 'wolf' in the language of Samnites (5.4.12). Examples from Strabo are quite numerous because, in general, writings characterized by geographic and ethnographic interests are prone to transmit scholarly evidence involving both the peoples and the languages they spoke. However, we cannot always be so lucky as to be able to identify or reconstruct the original word based on the transcription or adaptation offered by Greek and Latin scholars, so that a significant number of glosses remains obscure to us because they are connected to languages and linguistic landscapes we are unable to access in a direct fashion.

Although some literary works do contain glosses (as we have just shown), the vast majority come from dedicated scholarly texts. These are the lexicographic works, such as dictionaries, commentaries, and glossaries dedicated to single authors and to specific periods, which, as previously stated, have a primarily metalinguistic function and provide us with a wealth of material. Therefore, evidence for unusual words, including those that were borrowed as the result of interferences, can easily be found within lexical collections that were composed until the Byzantine era (5th–12th centuries CE), such as those by Hesychius and Stephanus of Byzantium, the *Suda*, the *Etymologicum magnum*

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inland of Massalia use the word *sigynnae* for hucksters, and the Cyprians use it for spears." [Translation by A.D. Gobley, Loeb 1922].

8　The formal match with the *kꜣkꜣ* plant name has been considered very doubtful since Dawson (1929); other hypotheses exist (e.g., Helck 1971:522), but the identification of the original Egyptian word remains uncertain.

(ΕΜ), and many others.[9] All these works tend to reflect a stratified tradition that goes back to the Hellenistic scholia and, more generally, to the practice of commenting on a literary text from several perspectives, including linguistics (provenance, etymology and meaning). Thus, it is possible, within these texts, to look for indications of lexical borrowings that were explicitly considered as such by the commentators. And when the focus is the presence of forms deriving from contacts with Anatolia, one may, of course, look for glosses that are said to be used by a given people living in Anatolia, such as Lydians, Lycians, and Phrygians (the term Anatolia is intended here in a geographical meaning, thus including languages that belong to an Anatolian set areally and not only genealogically).

Thus, opportunities exist, but so do some serious methodological limitations, which, if overlooked, may produce an overconfident representation of the material and of its meaning. In the analysis of the lexical material, many contextual and paratextual aspects should, indeed, be duly considered: the number of attestations of a form, the type of text in which it occurs, the profile of the author(s), the knowledge of a given foreign culture and language at the stage the text was composed, and the prestige of the code, if any. The word σίγυνον 'javelin,' mentioned above as an example of Aristotelian gloss, is attested only about 60 times in the entire corpus of TLG online,[10] as opposed, for instance, to the gloss πέπερι 'pepper,' with at least 3,000 occurrences in more than a hundred texts, from the 6th century BCE onwards. Neither is considered by the ancient sources as being a truly Greek word: σίγυνον is said to be Cyprian (whatever this might have meant), whereas πέπερι is included by the grammarians in lists of foreign names because of the inflection as πέπερι, πεπέρεως instead of *πεπέριτος.[11] Various etymological proposals could be made on the etymology of these two words, perhaps considering the latter as belonging instead to the category of *Wanderwort* (a circulating word that is attested in a large superregional area and whose etymology ultimately cannot be pinpointed). The focus here, however, is to point out that both are labeled as foreign words by the ancient sources in a metalinguistic perspective, regardless of their frequency. Because their actual frequency may have been more transparent to the ancient authors than it is to us (even though they never comment

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9   For a list of works, see Dickey (2007:87–103). See also Tosi (2015:622–636). In particular, the *Lexicon*, or *Glossary*, of Hesychius, which is among the main sources for Anatolian glosses in Greek, is transmitted by a unique manuscript dating back to the 15th century CE, the content instead being based on the work of Diogenianus, second century CE.

10   https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ last accessed in October 2023.

11   See Merlin (2023).

on it), the number of occurrences in the available corpus may or may not be correlated to their level of integration in the lexicon of the target language (cf. also Chapter 14 for further discussion on the process and results of borrowing).

Finally, a terminological remark is necessary for the sake of those readers who are better acquainted with Anatolian studies than Classical ones. Indeed, the term *gloss* evokes for scholars in Hittite cuneiform studies the reference to *Glossenkeil*,[12] a peculiar paragraphemic marker used by cuneiform scribes with a number of functions, which occasionally include the marking of an unusual—and sometimes foreign—word. Although the metalinguistic label is the same, the ways it is used in the two fields are completely different: a word marked by a *Glossenkeil* by the Hittites may have been a foreign word, which the Greeks would have called a *gloss*, but the metalinguistic function of the gloss is generally not explicit in the case of the Hittite cuneiform tradition. Although we referred to *Glossenkeil* and cuneiform glosses in Volume 1, here we will continue to use the term *gloss* to refer to the linguistic material conveyed by glossaries. Interestingly, the process of metalinguistic discussion was not unknown to the Hittites, but one of the most obvious examples of a process similar to scholarly glossing is in fact *not* marked by any paragraphematic marker. It deals of the sentence *nu hattīli tahaya halzai tahayan=ma=za hattili* ˡᵘšU.I *halziššanzi*, "he calls out *tahaya* in Hattian—in Hattian, the barber is called *tahaya* (lit. 'they call the barber *tahaya*')" in IBoT 1.36 i 65–66, where the scribe indeed appears to wish to explain the meaning of an unusual word within a text. This is in fact quite similar to what we encounter when Strabo reports that a Lydian word related to the Mysians, possibly like μυσός or μυσή, means 'beech' (*Geogr.* 12.8.3) or σμίνθι is the word for 'mouse' in use by the Teucrians (*Geogr.* 13.1.64). But although the production of scholarly commentaries was very widespread in the Classical world, cases of metalinguistic *glossing* in Bronze Age Hittite cuneiform world are relatively uncommon, so the corpus of late scholarly production by Greeks and Romans should be kept apart and investigated with the proper analytical tools.

2.2 *The Concept of Late Evidence*

Because scholarly production tends to increase over time, even when dedicated to the most ancient phases of the Greek literary production, it seems reasonable to refer to the material conveyed by glossaries as *late evidence*, primarily in opposition to earlier primary attestations of foreign words in ancient literary

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12   For a complete assessment of the practice of *Glossenkeil* in Hittite texts, see Pisaniello (2020).

works or even in epigraphic materials. However, this label can and should also be intended in relative terms, to emphasize the fact that the analysis is generally conducted on Greek scholarly collections that were written long after the works they refer to—and, in some cases of alleged foreign words, long after the disappearance of any written testimonies of the relevant Anatolian languages (in some instances, arguably even after the languages were dead). In other terms, the late evidence represents the written memory of Anatolian languages in a Greek text, considering that a target language can retain the memory of a model language for a given period for a number of different reasons that must be analyzed on a case-by-case basis, and which include scholarly tradition.

Furthermore, it must be acknowledged that a dead language can continue to affect a still-living language through a virtual dialogue with the written corpus. This was, for example, a common situation in Europe during the Middle Ages, when the written (classical) variety of Latin—at that time a dead language—influenced both Romance and Germanic languages. One may certainly argue that this is also the case for Homeric Greek, also considering its peculiarity of being a stratified *Kunstsprache* that influenced the late epic genre (cf. also Chapter 12).

Bearing this in mind, it is worth emphasizing that a gloss does not necessarily indicate a synchronically existing word in Greek, but in some cases may instead have served as an erudite piece of information. Moreover, a glossary such as that of Hesychius undoubtedly had the practical purpose of giving access to the lesser-known or unusual words in the literary text that the ancient philologist or exegete was to comment on. Such information may have reflected a word that was formerly in use, or a word that the later scholar assumes to have been in use at the time a literary piece was composed, or even a word that sounds unusual and which the scholar, based on unclear sources and for unclear reasons, seeks to explain as having derived from a specific geographical or ethnic area. The late evidence conserved, for instance, by a lexicographic work, is probably a form of extended memory of a literary evidence, which may still exist or be permanently lost in the vicissitudes of time (assuming that it was an integrated lexical item and not merely an exotic foreignism in the first place). Thus, the late linguistic material, without representing the ordinary language use, can, in the best possible scenario, reflect the situation of an earlier period during which interferences have taken place between living languages, being effectively part of multilingual or interface systems. In the worst-case scenario, however, it can be extremely misleading, with potentially serious effects on our capability of reconstructing some languages of limited attestation.

3   Theoretical and Methodological Issues

Given the great heterogeneity of the linguistic material that can be taken into consideration when dealing with ancient glosses, it is necessary to clarify the object of the study. This is because the concept of gloss is not univocal: in particular, if for ancient writers a *gloss* is any term unusual in a given linguistic community or with respect to a "standard" or more expected word (according some principles of norm and prestige represented by the *Hellenismos*),[13] for the modern scholar it is necessary to identify some criteria that enable one to select those that bear some significance for the study of ancient languages. In our case, in the corpus of more than 50,000 glosses by Hesychius, one will naturally want to identify those that are analyzable from the perspective of language contact between Greek and other languages, and specifically those that may have been connected with the Anatolian languages or the languages spoken in Anatolia in a geographical sense.

3.1   *Overt and Covert Items*

Our proposal is to distinguish between *overt* and *covert* glosses (and in some cases even *super-covert* as we shall see at the end of this Section). An overt gloss is a gloss that is avowedly so in the ancient text under consideration, regardless of its reliability (cf. Section 3.2), that is, when the text states that lemma *x* is the word for *y* in a given language. A *covert* gloss, on the other hand, is a gloss that can be inferred indirectly from the text, when, for example, a semantic field is evoked or an extralinguistic reference is made. Examples will be provided below.

According to Dorsi (1979:28),[14] the analysis of possible glosses includes only those words explicitly attributed by an ancient source to a given language, in that case, Carian, following a philological and not a linguistic criterion, in the sense that the interest is focused on the ancient sources, independently of their effective value in terms of etymology. In other words, it doesn't really matter whether the ancient source is essentially correct: what matters is how the linguistic data are collected and presented by ancient authors (cf. Section 3.2). Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century CE), for example, transmitted the Carian gloss **gissa* (γίσσα) and went even further, saying that the Greek word γεῖσον

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13   On the *Hellenismos*, cf. Chapter 12, Section 3.
14   This is the definition also adopted by Adiego (1992, 2007a) and Molina Valero (2010), even though they concede the possibility to have some "covert" items, e.g., ταύς as a possible Lydian gloss for Adiego (2007d: 769), or a Lycian form related to Ὕλαμοι for Molina Valero (2010), as mentioned in Section 4.3.

is a loanword from Carian, providing a linguistic description that is not supported by any Carian evidence at the present time. Nevertheless, the evidence remains equally relevant, because Stephanus may have been referring either to a primary literary source that has been lost, or to a situation of Greek–Carian contact whose historical and linguistic boundaries have yet to be established. This is a kind of *overt* gloss, even without the confirmation found in the language concerned, such as Carian, Lydian, or Lycian.

However, this definition may be too narrow and thereby exclude some items that could instead enrich the picture. Without relying on an overly broad definition like Schmidt 1868 (cf. also Bryce 1986), whereby every single mention of the Anatolian region or language is considered in establishing *ethnic glosses*, it should be observed that there are also intermediate cases: a kind of *covert gloss*. For such words, the Greek source does not explicitly attribute a word to a given language, but this can be recovered within the context or the possibility of comparing it with other forms. However, the procedure is not without risk, because in the absence of an explicit mention, the transmitted text is subject to the modern scholar's interpretation.

Let us offer some examples. For the entry βασαγικόρος (Hesychius β 267), Hesychius said only that it can be found in Hipponax (Frgm. 154). According to a narrow definition of *gloss*, this item should, in theory, be excluded from the analysis. However, it can be inserted in a series, including the aforementioned glosses βάσκε πικρολέα and βαστιζακρόλεα (Hesychius β 294 and 314, respectively) for which Hesychius explicitly said Λυδιστί 'in Lydian,' and κρολίαζε (Hesychius κ 4180), glossed without any mention of people or language.

The entry Ἰδάρνας (Hesychius ι 168)[15] is provided with different explanations: some say it can mean 'castrated' or 'barbarian'; others say that it is the name of a diviner; still others that there is a city in Caria called Idarne, from which the term for diviners originated. This passage could be compared with that of Photius on the lemma Ἰδαρναῖοι (ι 15):[16] the meaning of 'castrated' is here attributed to Callistratus (information absent from Hesychius), whereas the meaning of diviners is said to be derived either from the name of the diviner

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15 Ἰδάρνας· ὁ ἐκτομίας. οἱ δὲ βάρβαρον· οἱ δὲ μάντεως ὄνομα· οἱ δὲ πόλιν τῆς Καρίας εἶναι Ἰδάρνην, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τοὺς μάντεις λέγεσθαι. "*Idarnas*: The castrated. Some [call by this] the barbarous. Some [said] that it is the name of a diviner. Finally, some other that Idarnē is a city of the Caria, and the diviners are named as such from it."

16 Ἰδαρναῖοι· μάντεις ἀπό τινος Ἰδάρνου μάντεως· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ πόλεως Καρικῆς. Καλλίστρατος δὲ (FGrHist 348 F 6) τοὺς ἐκτομίας. "*Idarnaioi*: diviners from [the name of] a certain diviner [named] Idarno. According to some [it comes] instead from the city of Caria. Then, according to Callistratus, [it means] the castrated (pl.)."

Idarnos or from the city of Idarne in Caria—both not known elsewhere. Both texts are elliptical: neither of the two says that Ἰδάρνας is a Carian word, nor what the exact shape of this word is in Carian. A Carian city is mentioned together with the possibility that the name of the diviners was derived from the name of the city, perhaps because many diviners come from this place, but this may be an overinterpretation. Therefore, Ἰδάρνας cannot be considered an overt gloss, but the philological context can be further investigated in order to decide whether it is a kind of covert gloss. Perhaps a noun with a theme similar to *idarn-* was the Carian name for the diviners, although this hypothesis has not been confirmed by the Carian data up to now. The frequency should also be taken into account, considering that, according to the TLG corpus, the word Ἰδαρναῖοι is a hapax found in Photius and the word Ἰδάρνας is found only in the two texts quoted above.

Finally, there are the extreme cases of *super-covert* glosses that cannot be included in a series and do not offer any foothold for reading between the lines. Such a candidate could represent a sort of *silent* gloss for which the ancient source did not specify the origin, for whatever reason. An example is Hsch. μ 1523: μνῷα· δουλεία (cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.3.4), for which the hypothesis of a Carian borrowing has been suggested by Simon (2019b:299–302) after Schürr's (2013:28–29) identification of Carian *mno-* as 'a person in personal dependency' instead of 'son' (Adiego 2007a: 383). Although such glosses (in the philological, classical sense of the term) do not indicate a long-term awareness of an Anatolian word, they can still be considered from the perspective of lexical interference.

3.2   *Pertinence and Reliability of Ancient Glosses*

The Anatolian glosses can be examined not only from a philological perspective, as will be shown in Section 4, but also from a linguistic one, according the two parameters of pertinence (or relevance) and reliability.

First of all, one can inquire about the pertinence of a gloss for a given language: does the Lydian or Carian gloss really represent a Lydian or Carian word? In some rare cases, the scholarly evidence is confirmed by the attestations in that specific language or in related ones, showing a perfect match between the indirect evidence (the gloss) and the direct one. This is the case, for example, of τέγουν (Hesychius τ 312) 'stealer' in Lydian, which has a very good chance to reproduce a Lydian word, very plausibly existing if we compare it with the Hittite verb *taya-* 'steal.' In other cases, we have no such confirmation, but this does not diminish the value of the gloss. Another case is when the gloss is not directed to the explanation of a *word*, but rather of a *thing*. The word βάκκαρις (Hesychius β 107), for example, has recently been considered a Lydian gloss

provided by Hesychius, although the text is not so explicit in saying that it is a Lydian name, but rather a Lydian perfume.[17] Very similarly, according to a Latin scholium, the *tiara* is what some called *pileum Phrygium*, without assuming that the word in itself is Phrygian, but only the cap.[18]

The parameter of reliability shows the distance in terms of metalinguistic knowledge between the ancient sources and modern research: an ancient author can attribute to Carian a term now known to be Lycian (as in the case of τύμνια; see below Section 4.3). Moreover, the very concepts of Lydian, Carian, Lycian, and others may depend on a historical and geographical perspective rather than on a linguistic one. In particular, the attribution to Lydian sometimes indicates a generic geographical origin, to the point of becoming a sort of hyperonym of the languages spoken in Anatolia, known to the Greeks.

It should also be kept in mind that the term *Lydia* itself denotes geographical and political entities with moving boundaries throughout history, from the Iron Age kingdom of Lydia, whose last king Croesus was very famous among the Greeks (contributing to the extended meaning of Lydian as *Near Eastern* for the characters of luxury and softness), to a region of the Byzantine Empire. Therefore, the analysis of a gloss from a late lexicon must take into account these layers of information from earlier literary materials that accumulated over many centuries.

4 Long-Memory Echoes of Anatolian Languages in Greek

To take a closer look at the Anatolian lexicon of which the Greek texts have preserved a long memory, one should first consider of which Anatolian languages (and to what degree) Greek writers were aware. Such complementary research is a vital part of the very complex issue of the historical contacts between Greek-speaking communities and the non-Greek-speaking ones, together with the ideological concept of *barbariness* in the Greek thought.

However, the problem is less complex when one limits the scope to the Anatolian interface. Although glosses that are indeed likely to reveal actual loanwords will be discussed from a technical perspective in Chapter 14, here we will need to provide a general overview on this type of evidence, in order to highlight the significance and limits of this type of evidence. The corpus of

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17   For a detailed discussion, see in particular Merlin 2020:490–492.
18   As discussed in Obrador-Cursarch 2020a:413–414.

reference is represented mostly by Lydian, Carian, and Lycian glosses in Greek (plus a possible Sidetic one). Employing a geographical definition of Anatolian, however, Phrygian glosses also must be briefly mentioned.

4.1   *Lydian Glosses*

The topic of Lydian glosses is one of the most investigated topics in Greek lexical interference, because of its wide extent, but also because of the relatively large volume of the material even when compared to its epigraphic counterpart—not to mention the fact that the size of the corpus of glosses is quite considerable when compared with the direct epigraphic data, so that the interpretation of Lydian glosses has a strong significance for our understanding of Lydian as a language. In other words, glosses constitute a significant portion of the data employed to study Lydian, which obviates the need for the caution one normally exercises with glosses when working with languages for which a better epigraphic corpus is available. Although we will not attempt a complete history of the studies, recent publications (e.g., Payne 2019; Euler and Sasseville 2019; Merlin et al. 2024a, Merlin et al. 2024b) testify to the current interest on Lydian glosses, in particular as they are presented in the *Lexicon* of Hesychius.

As for the amount of evidence, Schmidt (1868)[19] identified 32 Lydian glosses in Hesychius, also including proper names (both personal and place names). However, the reference for Lydian glosses is Gusmani's LW (1964:271–278). This list of 46 words, as stated by the author, is based on previous research and includes mostly Greek testimonies, but also a couple of Latin ones (?*balim* and [*Pisas*]). Square brackets are used, in that work, to indicate those glosses falsely attributed to Lydian by the ancient sources (cf. Section 3.2), whereas question marks indicate that a gloss is dubious or has been transmitted in a corrupted way. In Gusmani's collection, 24 are the sure Lydian glosses (half of which are found in Hesychius), whereas 17 show a question mark, and 5 are pseudo-glosses. A more recent discussion is also provided by Adiego (2007d: 769–771), which is focused on the indirect testimonies represented by glosses, most of them found in Hesychius and Hipponax.

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19   The edition of Hesychius by Schmidt (1868) closed with a final appendix devoted to the *Glossai Ethnikai*, including, among the others, 36 Phrygian glosses and 32 Lydian glosses, together with 5 Carian, 4 Lycian and 1 Sidetic. Obviously, the index was compiled before any knowledge of Anatolian languages as a genealogical branch of Indo-European. What is important to highlight is that all the *ethnikai* words listed there belong both to Greek dialects and different languages (e.g., Lydian, Persian, Egyptian, Latin) according with the way they are mentioned in the Hesychian text.

The occurrences of the adverbial λυδιστί may also point to some possible Lydian glosses, although a degree of caution is warranted when dealing with it. Morphologically, the ending -ιστί is used in Greek to derive an adverb, usually described as indicating a glottonym; for example, Ῥωμαιστί means 'in Latin.' However, the vast majority of the occurrences of the adverb are related to a non-linguistic meaning. Cratinus (5th century BCE, *Fragm.* 256.4), speaking about the dance of the slaves, used λυδιστί not in the sense of 'in the Lydian language,' but rather 'according to the Lydian mode of music.' Plato (4th century BCE) in *Republic* (398e 10) also mentioned the Lydian mode inspired by the Pythagorean system of relationships between music and ethics: Ionic and Lydian harmonies are said to be soft, convivial (producing inebriety), and relaxed. The use of λυδιστί as a glottonym is much more limited; it is found in Hesychius, where it occurs twice (in βάσκε πικρολέα, β 294, and βαστιζακρόλεα, β 314).[20] This adverb is merely *one* of the ways used to indicate a Lydian word, together with the simple nominal expression Λυδοί, or by Λυδοί accompanied by a verb of speaking, most commonly λέγω ("the Lydians say so-and-so"). Thus, it must be observed that, even in this case, the mention of Lydians can refer not only to the linguistic expression, but also, more generally, to a cultural product somehow related to Lydia and Lydians (see Section 3.2). The same issue exists in later materials, and it is even amplified by the longer chronological hiatus separating the commentators from the materials they discuss. Among the Byzantine lexica, the adverb λυδιστί is, for instance, found in *Suda*, where Sardanapalus is presented as dressed in the manner of the Lydians. This is again a historical *gloss*, not a linguistic one (which pertains to an almost legendary character in a myth of opulence that in the Greek imagination enveloped the entire Near East).

4.2   *Carian Glosses*

In the famous Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*, Carians, alone among the *barbarians*, were said to be βαρβαρόφονοι (*Il.* 2.867). This adjective has given rise to discussions and commentaries since ancient times.[21] Moving on to modern times, Adiego (2007a: 7–12, 455) offers a highly valuable and detailed overview of the Carian glosses, building on the previous studies on the same topic ever since the seminal efforts by Sayce (1887). Previously, the paper by Dorsi (1979) had been the main reference work, and it contained the list of the six glosses, all

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20   For these two glosses and their possible relation with the Lydian language, see in part. Merlin et al. (2024a:71–77).

21   E.g., Strabo 14.2.28; for a detailed discussion, see Saviano 2017 with references.

of which are transmitted by Stephan of Byzantium: ἄλα 'horse,' βάνδα 'victory,' γέλα 'king,' σοῦσα(ν) 'tomb,' γίσσα 'stone,' and κόον 'sheep.' Three divine names are added: Ἴμβραμος and Μάσαρις (again in Stephanus) and Ὀσογῶα, attested in Strabo and Pausanias. Finally, three dubious words are also reported by Dorsi (1979): τάβα 'rock,' τουσσύλοι 'dwarves, pigmies,' and τύμνια 'stick,' the last one possibly being a Lycian gloss instead.

The short list of alleged Carian glosses provided by Schmidt (1868) could also be mentioned among the very first surveys. Still, it derives from a different text (by Hesychius) that is, in fact, excluded from the most recent surveys, which prefer discussing only the glosses by Stephan. The five Hesychian Carian glosses are collected according to different criteria: ἐλευθέριος (ε 2020) 'free' is the (in fact Greek) epithet of Zeus in Plataea (Boeotia) and in Caria; ὀξυάκανθος 'oxyacanth' is the name that the people of Caria and Phrygia gave to a plant; μυκώ (μ 1842) 'mute (?)' is included possibly due to a bad reading of †κάρις; and, finally, for Μαύσωλος (μ 420) 'Mausolus' and ληκύθιον (ληθύθιον for Schmidt, λ 855) there is no explicit mention of Caria and Carians, but Schmidt considers them to be Carian on the basis of an extra-textual knowledge, the former because he was a Carian satrap and the latter perhaps a Carian product. However, for the word ληκύθιον, the meaning of 'kind of wheat with beautiful fruits' diverges significantly from that of 'ampoule, flask' attested in the extant Greek texts, and the synonym ληκυθηδόν given by Hesychius in the description is a hapax; therefore, the interpretation presents some difficulties. Finally, the most interesting proposal by Schmidt (1868) is Ἰδάρνην, a city in Caria (s.v. Ἰδάρνας ι 168); however, it is a toponym, rather than a gloss, and Hesychius is not fully explicit about it (cf. Section 3.2).

As Adiego (2007a:326) stated, as of today, none of the Carian glosses found in Greek are validated by a counterpart in Carian inscriptions—a situation opposite to that of the Lydian ones, at least some of which are normally accepted by modern scholars.

4.3　Lycian Glosses

Evidence of language contact between Greek and Lycian is first explorable within bilingual inscriptions (see Chapter 15), which makes the relevance of the glosses less significant than it is for Lydian. This is fortunate indeed, because ancient scholarly evidence on the Lycian language is rather sparse. The list provided by Schmidt (1868) contained three toponyms (Γιγαντία, Εἴνατον and Παταρηῖς, now read as Παταρ⟨η⟩ὶς) and one appellative used in Lycia for Apollo (Ἐρεθύμος, now read as Ἐρεθίμος after Latte 1953). As in the case of the last two Carian glosses mentioned above, these are not genuine overt Lycian glosses, because none of them is not categorized as such by an ancient scholar (cf. Sec-

tion 3.1). With similar inclusive purposes to those of Schmidt, Bryce (1986:216–252) added a list of all the mentions of Lycia and Lycians in both Greek and Latin texts.

Molina Valero (2010), following the narrower and more precise definition of gloss that can also be found in Adiego (1992:52; see also Dorsi 1979:28) selected five glosses from Bryce's list: πίναρα 'round,' πάταρα 'basket,' and τύμνια 'stick' by Xanthians, in Lycia; then Eustathius transmitted σιφλός 'a passive man,' which can instead be a Greek word used in Lycia during the 12th century CE, and Τζέλυμοι, a local variant for Σόλυμοι, this last one appearing to affect more the level of phonetic variation rather than being a genuine gloss. Molina Valero (2010:462–463) added a final word: Ὕλαμοι, for which Stephan, reporting a previous tradition, said is the name of fruits, speaking about a Lycian city. This case may be similar to that presented for Ἰδάρνην for the Carian glosses: the gloss is not completely self-evident but can be recovered from the context (cf. Section 3.1).

4.4   *Phrygian Glosses*

The reference work for Phrygian glosses is the detailed study by Obrador-Cursach (2020a:412–424), which mentions 29 of them. Only four are confirmed by Phrygian inscriptions (βέκος, γλούρεα, ζέμελεν, κίκλην),[22] seven are considered very probable, for 11 the relationship with Phrygian is unclear and, finally, seven must be excluded for phono-morphological features unexpected for Phrygian (e.g., βέδυ with an unexpected voiced stop),[23] or because they in fact belong to a different language (e.g., ξενῶνες is Greek, and δάος is an Aramaic borrowing).[24]

4.5   *A Sidetic Gloss?*

The *Glossary* of Hesychius glossed the word ζειγάρη as ὁ τέττιξ παρὰ Σιδήταις "the cicala among Sidetics." But one might wonder whether that is a real Sidetic gloss. In fact, the language of Side is too poorly attested to provide an answer (cf. also Chapter 16). Moreover, the word is a hapax found only in Hesychius. EDG (2010:497) suggests a possible Pamphylian etymology for a geographical reason, because Side is located in Pamphylia. As happens with other names of peoples, such as the Lydians or Lycians, the information given by the ancient glossographer does not necessarily correspond to languages, but instead to dialectal or diatopic varieties of Greek in regions different from the Greek mainland or in

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22   Obrador-Cusarch (2020a:424).

23   Obrador-Cursach (2020a:416).

24   Obrador-Cursach (2020a:418–419, 422).

particular *ethnic communities*. The word may also be a borrowing from Vulgar Latin *cicāla*; this also fits with the late attestation found in Hesychius.

5   Concluding Remarks

Our knowledge of the *Anatolian* gloss in the works by the Greek grammarians and scholars pre-dates the rediscovery of the Anatolian languages. Today, Anatolian linguistics makes it possible to analyze both the overt and the covert glosses, confirming or disproving the explanations provided in antiquity. Accordingly, glosses will be mentioned in the next chapter, dedicated to lexical interference between Greek and the languages of Asia Minor, but only when the interpretation of a given word as a loan from an actual Anatolian language is possible according to the methods of modern linguistics.

The Problem of Lexical Borrowings from Anatolian Languages into Greek

Stella Merlin and Bartomeu Obrador-Cursach

1 Theoretical Premises

1.1 *Loanwords and Related Phenomena*

This chapter is dedicated to the phenomena of lexical interference at the Aegean interface in search of Anatolian loanwords in Greek, together with some other related contact phenomena, such as *Wanderwörter* and glosses.[1] We will pay particular attention to those forms that may go back to the oldest languages, namely Hittite and Luwian, deferring to the next chapter a detailed analysis of the phenomena of interference between Greek and Lycian, Lydian and Carian, respectively, the only cases for which we have evidence of a scenario of linguistic contact between speakers and living languages (see Chapter 15).

For the theoretical framework, we refer to that presented in Volume 1 (Chapter 15, Section 1), with two further remarks that are specific to the problem of categorizing contacts involving alphabetic Greek. The first has to do with the graphemic dimension and can be observed when an Anatolian word is transcribed in the Greek alphabet. An example is that of μίνδις, a common noun indicating a Lycian authority for the maintenance of tombs, attested in some Greek inscriptions from Lycia, such as TAM II, 1, 62, partially reconstructed; Petersen-Luschan 1889, Reisen II 22, 27 in which it appears in the phrase ἄνευ τῆς μίνδιος 'without the *mindis.*' Some recent studies (e.g., Simon 2018a:379) do not include the word μίνδις in the analysis of possible loanwords, instead considering it a transcription of a local word into the Greek alphabet.[2] However, it is conversely possible to recover this item because of its insertion within a Greek text and observing its rendering of the foreign word in Greek. From a

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1 The direction of lexical interference in the Bronze Age appears to be exclusively from Anatolian languages to Greek. To date, there is insufficient evidence for an influence in the opposite direction; see Hajnal (2017:2041). On glosses, see Chapter 13.

2 For the same reasons, other words are excluded by Simon (2018a:379): the possibly Luwian μῶλυ 'a plant'; the Lydian words (or even only things) κάνδαυλος 'Lydian meal or sauce,' καρύκη

theoretical point of view, there are two approaches to the graphic rendering: on the one hand, to consider them pure foreignisms (and in some cases, perhaps even code-switches) and on the other hand, to see in the graphic adaptation a certain degree of adaptation, albeit minimal, which makes these lexemes fall perfectly within the category of loanwords. Now, if we consider the morphological inflection, attested in μίνδιος, it seems possible to speak in favor of a Lycian borrowing into the local variety of Greek.

Second, in the analysis of lexical interference, metalinguistic sources are of particular importance, starting with ancient sources such as glossaries (e.g., Hesychius, *Suda*, Photius; cf. also Chapter 13). Although we will continue to use the term *gloss* to refer to the linguistic material conveyed by glossaries (as is the habit in classical philology), our attention is directed in particular to glosses understood as metalinguistic information, that is, words of language B appearing in a text in a language A mentioned to be explained—for example, Strabo reporting that a Lydian word related to the Mysians (and thus possibly resembling μυσός or μυσή) means 'beech' (*Geogr.* 12.8.3)[3] or that σμίνθι is the word for 'mouse' in use by the Teucrians (*Geogr.* 13.1.64).

According to this metalinguistic perspective, every single Greek gloss that can be traced back to some Anatolian language is valuable for our knowledge not only of linguistic contacts, but also of the languages in question. The gloss can represent not only an occasional foreign word, but also a real borrowing, more or less adapted and integrated into the Greek lexicon and for which the Anatolian source word or text may or may not exist. Whether behind a gloss there is an occasionalism or even a code-switch pertaining to the *parole* or a real loanword integrated in the *langue*, the linguistic system of the target language, this must be established on a case-by-case basis, according philological (both textual and linguistic) criteria.

1.2   *Etymological Dictionaries and Approaches to the Non-native Lexicon*

The study of the etymology of Greek words has existed since the beginning of the Greeks' metalinguistic reflection on their own language. The scholarly

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'soup of blood and spices,' καύης '(name of) a priest,' μῶλαξ '(kind of) wine,' μάγαδις 'stringed instrument and a Lydian flute'; and, finally, the Cilician οὐδών 'kind of felt-shoe made of goat hair.'

3   […] ἐτυμολογοῦντες καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τῶν Μυσῶν ὅτι τὴν ὀξύην οὕτως ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Λυδοί "establishing as the origin of the name Mysians, because the Lydians call the beech-tree as such." It is noticeable that such a possible Anatolian gloss provided by Strabo has disappeared from the Greek etymological dictionaries and studies.

literature we know in the form of commentaries and *scholia* on the works identified as constituting a canon begins in the library of Alexandria with the Homeric exegesis in the 3rd–2nd centuries BCE and continues with the lexico-graphic collections and, in particular the *Etymologica*, but also the Glossaries (e.g., Hesychius or Photius, mentioned above), which we could define as proto-encyclopedic collections on the knowledge of the time.[4]

Leaving aside a discussion of the ancient practice of etymology, here we will focus on the modern etymological dictionaries that constitute the reference for studies of the Greek lexicon. At present, etymologists have three dictionar-ies at their disposal, all written from the 1960s onwards and all three equally consulted and considered, without each successive study rendering its prede-cessor unusable. These are the *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* by Frisk (GEW, 1960); the *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* by Chantraine (A–Δ 1968; E–K 1970; Λ–Π 1974; P–Υ 1977; Φ–Ω 1980), normally consulted in the posthume version with *Supplements* of 1999 (DELG); and, finally, Beekes's *Ety-mological Dictionary of Greek* (EDG, 2010). Because the three dictionaries are very different in terms of approach, their concomitant use becomes comple-mentary; indeed, the entries contained and analyzed are not always the same, precisely because of the different choices made by their authors. For instance, the aforementioned word μίνδις is not included by Frisk, whereas it is cautiously presented as a possible Lycian loanword by both Chantraine and Beekes.

Essential information on the research perspective can be found in the fore-words: first of all, they all claim to have relied on the work of their predecessors, in particular Frisk and Chantraine on Boisacq's 1916 dictionary[5] (itself based on Prellwitz 1905) and Beekes on Frisk and Chantraine. For the purposes of our research on lexical interference between the Greek and Anatolian branches, it is superfluous to recall that in Boisacq's time there was very little knowledge of Anatolian languages (and if there was any, it was only of the alphabetic ones). This does not change the fact that the use of such works, in addition to con-stituting a matter of interest for the researcher in the history of thought, may sometimes contain useful references to hypotheses that were progressively dis-carded but that could instead find new applications.

The bibliography is an important point. Frisk writes on this regard: "Es hat m.E. keinen Sinn, diesen Ballast verfehlter oder schlecht unterbauter Hypothe-sen, die ja nur für die Geschichte der Forschung von Interesse sein können,

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4   The issue of the etymology is addressed by a multitude of studies, of which we mention, very selectively, Reitzenstein 1897; Lallot 1991; Belardi 2002; Crevatin 2002; Sluiter 2015; Zucker and Le Feuvre 2021.

5   Reviewed, among others, by Brugmann 1920.

weiterzuschleppen" (Frisk, GEW:viii).[6] Similarly, Chantraine states that "la bibliographie est une bibliographie limitée et choisie"[7] (DELG:viii), and Beekes claims to have exercised some "strategic choices" (EDG:x) in the treatment of bibliographical references, focusing on the most recent relevant publications. All three authors state that they focus on the Greek lexicon and refer to Indo-European dictionaries—first and foremost Pokorny's—for the reconstruction of the inherited forms and the comparison of Greek with other Indo-European languages.

The question of lexical interference (and thus of borrowings in and from Greek) is not set out theoretically in the preface by Frisk, although in the course of the dictionary he makes use of these categories of *Fremdwort* and *Lehnwort*, assuming a distinction, proper to German linguistics, between foreign words (which could perhaps also include code-switches and transcriptions) and loanwords. For the latter, phono-morphological adaptation and integration into the lexicon of the target language is always envisaged. Chantraine starts from a number of basic assumptions. As for the interference phenomena, one such assumption is that the technical lexicon is more susceptible to borrowing—and, therefore, expressions that give a word as a loanword because it belongs to a technical lexicon, such as architecture (e.g., γεῖσον) or cooking (e.g., καρύκη), often recur in the dictionary. The other is the substantial agnostic position with respect to the phenomena of substrate, openly stated by the author, whereby reference is made to a generic Aegean or Mediterranean stratum in the absence of further data.[8] It is precisely this point that is more thoroughly explored by Beekes's dictionary—which, despite being the most recent publication as well as being written in English—conveys a perspective that is peculiar to the author and still much debated. Beekes's dictionary, in fact, starts from a theory developed by Furnée 1972 in the wake of Kuiper's 1956 and deepened by Beekes's own research of more than 30 years, namely the identification for a large portion of the Greek lexicon of borrowing from a non-Indo-European substrate called Pre-Greek (PG) by virtue of a coherent system phono-morphological correspondences, thereby explaining the presence

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6   "In my opinion, there is no use in continuing to carry this body of disconfirmed or poorly supported hypotheses, which, after all, can only be of interest to the history of research."

7   "Bibliography is limited and selected."

8   "[…] de nombreux vocables dont nous ignorons l'origine et que l'on désigne souvent par les termes d'égéen ou de "méditerranéen", qui dissimulent pudiquement notre ignorance" Chantraine (DELG:ix). [Translation: "[…] many terms whose origin we do not know and that we often designate by the terms of Aegean or 'Mediterranean,' which modestly hide our ignorance."]

of different variants and recognizing a set of typical suffixes. The issue is particularly relevant because words that are instead borrowings from an Anatolian language can be classified as PG words, based on the assumption that PG was a language spoken before the arrival of the Indo-European people on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea (cf. Chapter 11).

1.3   *State of the Art*

Over the past 100 years, Anatolian etymologies have been proposed for about 200 words of the Greek vocabulary by different scholars and from different languages of the Anatolian branch. One of the earliest works is that of Sayce (1922) who, following Ramsay (1917: 268), proposed a small selection of Greek words with an Anatolian etymology (the five words ἀήρ 'air,' ἰχώρ 'ichor, juicy part of blood,' κομμός 'a song with music, lament,' οἶνος 'wine,' *and* χαλκός 'copper') together with two possibly Phrygian loanwords (see Chapter 8).

The research was in its early stages: as knowledge of Anatolian languages has grown, the description has become more detailed. Some Anatolian etymologies have been abandoned, either because a Greek origin has been revealed (e.g., ἀήρ 'mist, haze, clouds,' proved to be inherited from PIE *$h_2eus\text{-}er$) or because they are indeed borrowings—albeit from an eastern, but non-Anatolian language, as is the case of Semitic languages (e.g., χιτών 'chiton, linen garment' from Phoen. KTN). Although some Anatolian influence was guessed from the beginning, some etymologies are still unknown in the absence of any supporting data; for example, among those presented by Sayce (1922), ἰχώρ, κομμός, and χαλκός still lack any convincing etymology.

In the past 15 years, a number of studies have appeared that are specifically dedicated to the issue of lexical interference between Greek and Anatolian languages and, in particular, to defining which possible lemmas should be taken into account. As pointed out in one of the most recent works (Simon 2018a:376–377), these also include the studies of Yakubovich (2010a), Hawkins (2010), Gasbarra and Pozza (2012), and Hajnal (2014, 2017).[9] In each of these studies, a list of lexemes is given, some of which are shared by two or more, such as δέπας 'goblet,' κύμβαλος 'cymbal,' κύμβαχος 'crest of a helmet; falling head-first,' or μόλυβδος 'lead' (see Section 2.1). According to Simon (2018a:380), fewer than 30 of the nearly 180 lexical entries proposed to have an Anatolian origin are truly Anatolian. The vast majority of alleged Anatolian borrowings are lexemes for which the alleged Anatolian origin is not proven because, on the one hand,

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9   To these, we add in particular Oreshko 2018b; Merlin and Pisaniello 2019; Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021a; and Obrador-Cursach 2019–2020, as well as the research that is gathered in the present book.

incorrect comparisons have been made, and on the other, there is no Anatolian counterpart that can serve as a model for the target language. This category includes many Anatolian glosses transmitted by Hesychius, of which we have no attestation but that may nevertheless reveal a lexical interference (see Chapter 13).

The research on Greek–Anatolian lexical interference can produce very different results depending on the theoretical framework, which is supported by a specific terminological apparatus. This is why scholars, before conducting any survey of alleged loanwords, have felt the need to specify what the criteria were for selecting words based on the definitions given to *loanword*, *Wanderwort*, *cultural word*, and the like. However, the definitions are neither unique nor unambiguous—and, consequently, neither are the lists of terms. It is widely acknowledged that a significant portion of Greek vocabulary is non-native (which is by no means a problem, if we consider, for example, the Romance lexicon of present-day English) and may go back eastern influences of various kinds, including Anatolian languages, or substrate (see also Chapter 11). Nevertheless, Anatolian is sometimes used in a generic way, rather than with precise reference to an Anatolian language in genealogical terms.

2   Linguistic Analysis of the Relevant Lexicon

In what follows, we will first present those Greek words for which an Anatolian origin is quite commonly accepted (Section 2.1), followed by the most discussed loanwords on which no consensus has been reached (Section 2.2). Whenever Hittite and Luwian serve as model languages for any alphabetic Greek word, it is unnecessary to specify that these are unlikely to be direct borrowings. However, this does not preclude the possibility of mediations (linguistic or textual) that may result in the *transmission* of a Hittite or Luwian word to Greek. The issue of Mycenaean, which is treated separately in Chapter 11, is a different one (given its higher chronology than that of all other Greek dialects), consequently compatible with the more recent period of attestations from Hittite and Luwian.

2.1   *Anatolian Borrowings in Greek*
There is only one word with a Hittite counterpart found in Mycenaean times: *ku-wa-no-* 'smalt' /kuwano-/ (DMic.415–416, alphabetic Greek κύανος, η, ον 'enamel, lapis lazuli, blue copper carbonate'), considered a loanword from Hittite *ku(wa)nna(n)-* 'copper, ornamental stone' (Simon 2018a:396 § 85; cf. Chapter 11). The Greek word shows the retention of the initial voiceless velar stop and preserves the -(*u*)*wa*- sequences (a simplification *uwa* > *u* could be possi-

ble),[10] with the secondary loss of intervocalic /w/ in the alphabetic form. The only divergence is the simplification of /n:/ as /n/ in Greek and the lack of any trace of the *n*-stem. Because it is the sole Hittite word found in Greek, an intermediate language cannot be totally ruled out, although only the simplification of /n:/ could be alleged as a feature pointing to it, if it means anything at all.[11]

Less clear is the case of κύπασσις, εως, ὁ 'short frock,' which was connected with Hittite *kupahi-* 'headgear' by von Blumenthal (1930:27–30). Leaving aside semantics ('headcloth' > 'frock'), the phonetic shift *h* > σσ has been taken as an obstacle that allows us to reject the relationship between both words (Simon 2018a:397–398, following the dictionaries). However, this is not a problem if one assumes a prior shift *h* > *k* of an intermediate language (found in the Anatolian Iron Age languages)[12] and a palatalization in contact with the front vowel. Then, an intermediate form **kupaki-* > **kupaḱi-* explains the form κύπασσις, where ⟨σσ⟩[13] may show the common outcome of **-ḱ-* in some ancient Greek dialects, including Ionic and Lesbian.[14]

Also, βορβύλα 'cake made of poppy and sesame' implies an intermediate if it goes back to Hittite *pūrpura-, pūrpuri-* /porbura/i-/ 'ball, lump; ball-shaped breads or cakes.' Because of the initial voiced stop in Greek and the *l/r*-shift, Simon (2017e and 2018a:387 § 26) argues for a transmission of the Hittite noun via a Luwic dialect. Note, however, that the word, transmitted only by Hesychius (β 817) is a mere gloss and perhaps only reproduces a word of a specific region, or even a foreign word. A similar situation can be found in the gloss

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10   On this shift in the Anatolian languages, see Rieken 2001.

11   The simple phonotactics of this word does not provide useful information on this point, and Hajnal (2017:2041) even classified it as a "migrant cultural word."

12   At least in some positions, it includes late Luwian (Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies 1993:60) but it certainly occurs in Lycian (Melchert 1994:305–307), Carian (Adiego 2007a:260) and Lydian (Melchert 2004). See also the spelling problems of the royal name in the recently discovered HLuw. inscription TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1: *ka+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* (§ 1) vs. *há+ra/i-tá-pú* (§ 3, Goedegebuure et al. 2020:31). Alternatively, Kloekhorst (2018) has recently argued that the phonetic value of the Proto-Anatolian outcome of **h₂* was [q:] instead of [χ]. According to him, the uvular [q:] became [k] in Lycian ⟨χ⟩ (but [ɣ] and ⟨g⟩ in intervocalic position; Melchert 1994:68–71) and Carian ⟨k⟩, while it became [χ:] in Hittite and Cuneiform Luwian ⟨-ḫḫ-⟩. In any case, this does not affect to the purposes of this paper.

13   The form with ⟨ττ⟩ found in Alcaeus's κυπάττιδες (Frgm. 15 B = 54 D) is expected to occur in Attic, Euboean, Boeotian, or even in Cretan Greek, but not in the Lesbian poet. The transmission of this fragment by Athaeneus (24.626f.) can explain such form. Modern editors unanimously correct it as κυπάσσιδες.

14   As found in Doric and Lesbian καρύσσω, Ionic κηρύσσω, Boeotian καρύττω, and Attic κηρύττω 'to be a herald, officiate as herald; announce,' a denominative verb derived from **kāruk-* 'herald, messenger' with the suffix *-yo-*.

δόλπαι 'little flat cake' (Hesychius δ 2172, said in Kos according to him), with a variant δολβαί (Hesychius δ 2171).[15] The word has been compared with Hittite *turpa* 'kind of cake' (Neumann 1961:78–79, EDG:346). Again, the comparison appears reasonable, but it shows the same peculiarities of βορβύλα: the initial dental stop shows a voicing in the Greek rendering and a confusion between the laterals /l/ and /r/ as often observed in Hieroglyphic Luwian (cf. Melchert 1994:259, which has been explained by Rieken and Yakubovich 2010:216–217 as the result of flapping [ɾ]). Despite the plural inflection of δόλπαι, the *a*-stem is preserved.

In our list, two borrowings from Luwian occur: Myc. *di-pa* DMic. 175 (cf. Chapter 11) / δέπας, αος, τό 'goblet' and θύρσος, ου, ὁ 'a kind of wand' are considered to be loanwords from Hieroglyphic Luwian *tipas-* 'bowl' and Luwian *tuwarsa-* 'vine(yard),' respectively.[16] As can be seen, the treatment of the initial dental stop differs. It has been explained as borrowings from different dialects (on the first, see Simon 2016d and 2017e:248–350). Note that δέπας also shows the adaptation of /i/ as /e/, which is easy to assume (even more so if we consider that Luwian had fewer phonemic vowels than Greek). By its side, the /tʰ/ in θύρσος for an original /t/ can be explained through the concept of over-differentiation, because Luwian has only one possible voiceless dental stop in this position whereas Greek had two: /t/ and /tʰ/.[17] Finally, the common Anatolian simplification (*u*)*wa* > *u* is found in the Greek rendering.

From unclear Luwic dialect(s), two borrowings have been accepted: γάγγαμον, ου, τό 'small round net for catching oysters' from a Luwic cognate of the Hittite verb *kānk-/kank-* 'to hang,' and κάνδαυλος / κάνδυτος 'Lydian meal or sauce' from Luwic *hantawatt*(*i*)- 'king' (as in Luwian, Lycian, and Pisidian). As in the case of δέπας, the initial voiced stop of the first word is interpreted as a dialectal variant of Luwian (see Simon 2018a:389 § 36, with exhaustive refer-

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15   The voicing of /p/ in δόλπαι > δολβαί can be explained in its post-sonorant position. The accentuation is not clear.

16   The Luwian origin for Greek θύρσος is not commonly accepted. See a summary of the discussion in Simon (2018a:391 § 47), who does not consider τολύπη as a loanword in Greek, but rather as an inherited word in order to avoid the different dental outcome. This last feature is the main problem scholars emphasize in rejecting the borrowing of *tuwarsa-* (see, e.g., Yakubovich 2010:147).

17   According to Weinreich's classical definition (1953:18) of this basic type of interference in rendering a secondary phonic system: "[o]ver-differentiation of phonemes involves the imposition of phonemic distinctions from the primary system on the sounds of the secondary system, where they are not required." Here Greek is the primary system that imposes a phonemic distinction on Luwian, the secondary system here. The typical example of this phenomenon is found in Hindi/Urdu retroflex [ṭ] for the English apical [t] as in [ṭeːbᵊl] for English 'table' (British /ˈteɪbəl/).

ences). Note also that κάνδαυλος appears to be a secondary folk etymology of κάνδυτος in light of the famous royal name. Moreover, κάνδυτος is surprisingly close to the Luwian form *hantawatt(i)*- 'king' and implies only the Iron Age Anatolian shift of ⟨h⟩ to *k* also assumed for *kupahi-* > κύπασσις. The shift -*nt*- > -νδ- can be considered a mere postnasal voicing that could be an allophone in the model language.[18]

Another word can be added to this list: Myc. *ko-wo* (DMic. 396–397) / κῶας, αος, τό 'soft, hairy animal skin; fleece.' It has been widely considered a borrowing from Carian (see Simon 2019b:297–299) in light of two late glosses that report that κοῖον or κόον was the Carian word for 'flock' (Adiego 2007a:8–10).[19] The gloss κόον is explained as inherited from Proto-Anatolian **Hāwo-* 'sheep' (PIE **h₂e/oṃo-* 'id.'), with the velar Carian shift of **H* to ⟨q⟩ (Adiego 2007a:8–10). Although the value of this Carian letter is still debated, the Greek rendering with κ for Carian ⟨q⟩ is shown by Carian personal names read in Greek inscriptions: e.g. *qtblemś* = Κυτβελημις, Κοτβελημος and *qlalis, qlaliś* = Κολαλδις, Κυλαλδις. Leaving aside the easy explanation for the gloss, the Mycenaean form *ko-wo-* 'sheepskin' (DMic. 396–307) can be analyzed in Carian terms, but Carian is not attested until the 6th century BCE (a similar problem is found in μόλυβδος; see Section 2.1). In any case, any Luwic form **hawa-* [χαwα-] (proto-Carian?) may be also the source of Mycenaean *ko-wo-* /kowo-/ because Mycenaean Greek-speakers could perceive [x] as /k/[20] and [ɑ] as /o/ (see above κομβ-/καμβ-). The alphabetic κῶας 'fleece' appears to be a derivative: *kowo-* > **koo-* >

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18   The voicing in this position is regular in the Luwic languages such as Luwian (Melchert 1994:40), Lycian (Melchert 1994:282 and 300), and Pisidian (Simon 2017d:32), very likely also in Carian (Adiego 2007a:246): see, e.g., the word for 'king' identified in Luwian *xandawati-* 'king' (transcribed as *hantawatti-*), Lycian *xñtawat(i)-* (see also Milyan *xñtawaza* 'rule' TL 44d:67), Carian *kδow-/kδou-/kδu-* (Adiego 2019a:23–24), and Pisidian Γδεβετις (a personal name).

19   The first is found among the scholia *ad Iliadem* (14.255): τὸ δὲ πρόβατον κοῖον οἱ Κᾶρες ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅθεν Κῶς ἡ πολυθρέμμων "The Carians call the flock *koîon*. Hence (the epithet) Kos which feeds many." However, editors commonly correct κοῖον as κόον after a second gloss by Eustathius *ad Iliadem* 14.255: ἕτεροι δὲ Κόον ἔγραψαν ἐν συστολῇ παντελεῖ διὰ δύο μικρῶν ο, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ συναιροῦσι τὴν Κῶν ὁμοίως τῷ σόον σῶν. Φασὶ δὲ τοὺς Κᾶρας οὕτω καλεῖν τὰ πρόβατα. ὅθεν καὶ ἡ νῆσος Κῶς ὡς πολυθρέμμων δι' εὐβοσίαν. "Others spelled *Kóon* [instead of *Kôs*] by the changing of the long vowel into two omicra and for this reason they take *Kôs* like *sóon* after *sôn*. It is said that Carian call so the flock. Hence the island of Kôs [is] also [described] as 'feeding many' because of its good pastures."

20   A good parallel is found in Spanish borrowings in Catalan, a language lacking [x]: see, for example, *jamón* [xaˈmon] > [kaˈmon] and *ojo* [ˈo.xo] > *oco* [ˈo.ko] (used only as 'beware'); also, in personal names: *Juan* [xwan] > [kwan] and *Borja* [ˈboɾ.xa] > [ˈboɾ.kə]. This last example is an interesting one for sociolinguists: *borja* [ˈbɔɾ.ʒə] 'hut' is actually a Catalan (and Aragonese *borja* [ˈboɾ.d͡ʒa], modern [ˈboɾ.t͡ʃa]) word (a loan from Arabic برج

*$k\bar{o}$+as-. The ending -ας has been explained as the influence of other nouns in -ας like the inherited δέμας 'living body or corpse,' κέρας 'horn' and κρέας 'flesh, meat' (DMic. 307 n. 9). However, the presence of -ε- in forms other than the nominative-accusative singular remains unexplained (EDG:812).[21]

There are two Lycian borrowings in Greek: μίνδις, ιος, ἡ 'Lycian institution' from Lycian *miñte/i*- and πιάτρα, ας, ἡ; πιέτρα, ας, ἡ 'daughter-in-law,' a Lycian cognate of Hieroglyphic Luwian *piyatr*(i)- 'donation' (Schürr 1999). In both cases, the sounds of the original form are preserved in Greek, with the sole exclusion of /j/, which is lost in Greek. Moreover, Lycian *ñt* is commonly found as noting /d/ in foreign words. Thus, both renderings make a full match. There is a Greek word attested only in Greek inscriptions from west Anatolia that may have a Lycian origin. Greek κομβιον, τό; καμβειν, τό; κομβο- 'grandchild' is very similar to Lycian *xahba* 'grandson, descendants' (with nasalization in TL 44a:31! *xâhb*⟨*a*⟩),[22] a cognate with Hittite *hāšša*- 'descendant,' Luwian *hams*(i)- 'grandson,' Lydian *esa*- 'offspring' (LW 5), and, probably, Carian PN *ksbo*. These words go back to *$h_2\acute{e}ms$-o- 'to be born' (EDHIL:323), as also found in Hittite *haš-^{i}* / *hašš*- 'to give birth.' If the word has this origin, it must be linked to Lycian due to the aspiration of *s, a sound preserved in other languages. The presence of *mi* in the Greek form may reflect the nasalization (as in *xâhb*⟨*a*⟩) via unpacking[23] or, if fallen (as in the most common *xahba*), ⟨μβ⟩ may indicate a fortition of /b/ after the spirantization of the Greek stop, the so-called *betacism* (/b/ > /v/; note that it is a late word). Alternatively, πιάτρα / πιέτρα has been connected with Proto-Anatolian *komb-(e)i- 'small,' as Hittite *kappi*- 'small' (Neumann 1961:61 and EDHIL:439), although the root is not attested with the meaning 'descendant' and does not occur in the corpora of the Iron Age.[24] In addition, both πιέτρα / πιέτρα and κομβιον / καμβειν have two different spellings of the vowel in the root. This vacillation can be attributed to differences in the vowel systems of the two languages. In the first instance, the model form *pijetr(i)-, a Lycian cognate of Hieroglyphic Luwian *piyatr*(i)-, contains the vowel /æ/ (rep-

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/burd͡ʒ/ 'tower,' ultimately from Greek πύργος 'id.') borrowed in its onomastic use in Spanish (famous after the Argentinian writer Borges [ˈbor.xes]).

21　Nominative-accusative plural κώεα and dative plural κώεσιν with κρέα and κρέασιν. It never occurs in genitive or dative singular. One wonders whether Lycian *xawa*- 'sheep' could be the origin of alphabetical Greek κῶας 'fleece' by assuming that the first Lycian ⟨a⟩ [ɑ] was perceived as an open-mid vowel, features only found in the long [ɔː] ⟨ω⟩ in Greek.

22　On the phonotactics details of the Lycian word, see Martínez-Rodríguez 2019.

23　Basically, the target language split the nasalized vowel as two sounds: oral vowel + nasal consonant. This phenomenon is well known in borrowings to languages with nasalized vowels to languages lacking these sounds (Paradis and Prunet 2000).

24　Neumann also included the genitives κανψη and κανψιου.

resented by ⟨e⟩), a sound absent in most Ancient Greek dialects, which could be interpreted as either the short /a/ ⟨α⟩ or /e/ ⟨ε⟩. The divergence between κομβ- and καμβ- can be explained because Lycian ⟨a⟩ represents /ɑ/, an open back unrounded vowel different to the Greek /a/ ⟨α⟩ and more open than /o/ ⟨o⟩.

Greek has borrowed at least one noun from Carian: indeed, ἑρμηνεύς, έως, ὁ 'interpreter, translator' is explained as going back to Carian *armon* 'interpreter.' One must consider that the aspiration occurred as the result of a folk etymology after the theonym Ἑρμῆς 'Hermes.' It may also explain the divergent vowel /e:/ for ⟨o⟩. A second Carian word in Greek can be seen in the gloss γυγαί 'grandfathers' (Hesychius γ 972). If the correction of the gloss is accepted (πάπποι for πάμποι; see Simon 2017e:388 and 2019b:296–297), it is the Greek adaptation of *quq*, which also occurs in personals names such as Γύγος and even with the Lydian PN Γύγης (cf. Adiego 2007a:334 and 408 for a Carian connection). Note the Greek rendering of Carian ⟨q⟩ as /g/ or [γ] in Greek.

As far as we know, Lydian is the Anatolian language most represented in the Greek loanwords, although the evidence is based quite heavily on glosses (see Chapter 13). There are two clear words: καύης, ου, ὁ 'priest,' which renders Lydian *kawe-* 'priest,' and πάλμυς, υδος, ὁ 'king,' which is a clear loanword from Lydian *qaλmu-* 'king.' In the last word, Greek /p/ for the consonant ⟨q⟩ (perhaps /kw/ or /kʷ/; Gérard 2005:57) shows the alphabetic Greek development of its ancient labiovelars, which can be used to classify it as an early borrowing.[25] If the correction is accepted, note the divergence with the gloss *κοαλμεῖν 'Lydian king' (Hesychius κ 3169, in accusative),[26] which very likely shows the preservation of the labiovelar. Feasibly, Hesychius here did not provide a borrowing, but rather a *barbara vox*. It may show that the Lydian borrowing pre-dates the Greek shift

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25   See Gusmani (1994:277): "ein sehr altes Lehnwort in der Sprache der jonischen Einwohner der kleinasiatischen Küste," and Gérard (2005:32 fn. 87): "les Grecs on varisemblablement emprunté ce mot lydien fort tôt, avant la transformation des labio-vélaires" (see also Gérard 2005:57 fn. 305). Note that *qaλmu-* was very important in the decipherment of the Lydian letter ⟨q⟩. The word has been considered a Luwian borrowing (or, at least, a Luwic borrowing in Lydian) in light of the personal name *Kwalanamuwa*, which means 'having the strength of the army' (first in Carruba 2006:404; see also Loiacono 2018–2019:98–108, who studies *kλmuδ*[, and, with some remarks, in Yakubovich 2019a:310–313).

26   The manuscript reads κοαλδδεῖν, but angular letters are often confused, and the correction was considered by some scholars (see Gusmani 1964:274). Alternatively, Euler and Sasseville (2019:126 and 128 fn. 12, following a prior proposal by Heubeck 1959:15–30) suggest a connection with *Qλdãns*, recently identified by them as the Lydian king Κροῖσος instead of the god equivalent to Apollo. In any case, it is clear that Greek ⟨κο⟩ here represents the synchronic Lydian [kʷ], a sound not found in alphabetic Greek.

*k^w > p. The use of Greek ⟨λ⟩ /l/ for Lydian ⟨λ⟩ (perhaps /ʎ/)[27] is coherent with the lack of a palatal lateral approximant in Greek. The same rendering is found in πλαίσιον, ου, τό 'long quadrangle, rectangle,' suggested to be a loanword from Lydian *pλašo-* 'burial installation.' It is interesting to observe that Greek lacks any letter to represent a sound like the Lydian ⟨š⟩ = /ç/ because it is not a phoneme in this language. For this reason, ⟨ισ⟩ may show another example of unpacking. Lydian ⟨š⟩ may have been a voiceless palatal fricative whereas Ancient Greek had only voiceless alveolar fricative /s/. In such a scenario, it is easy to assume that the palatal articulation of Lydian ⟨š⟩ = /ç/ was perceived as having the presence of the front vowel [i]. Leaving aside its inflection, Greek καύης is an exact rendering of Lydian *kawe-*. Only the preservation of Lydian /w/ can be surprising, but the sound may have been perceived as part of a diphthong /aw/ instead of the syllabification /ka.wes/.

Melchert (2008a) suggested that Mycenaean *mo-ri-wo-do* (Alphabetic Greek μόλυβδος, ου, ὁ, ἡ or μόλιβος 'lead') is a borrowing from Lydian *mariwda-* 'dark,' although the word is attested only as a theonym. This implies the shift *r > l*, not strange in loanwords but unparalleled, and the rendering /o/ for /a/, which is not coherent with *qaλmu-* > πάλμυς. The Mycenaean occurrence shows that the rendering of /wd/ as ⟨βδ⟩ is an inner-Greek development, as well as the apocope in the original second syllable. Finally, λύγδος, ου, ἡ '(white) marble' is suggested to render Lydian **lukda-* /lugda/ < **luk-iyo-*, which implies only the allophonic voicing of /k/ in contact with /d/.[28]

After describing the phonetic adaptation of the accepted Anatolian borrowings, their morphological adaptations may be considered. The Hittite word *ku(wa)nna(n)-* 'copper, ornamental stone' shows *a*-stem as well as *n*-stem forms. Because it is inflected as a thematic noun in Greek (already in Mycenaean *ku-wa-no-* 'smalt'), it seems likely that Greek took this word from its *a*-stem variant. The same can be found in Greek θύρσος, ου, ὁ 'a kind of wand' in comparison with Luwian *tuwarsa-* 'vine(yard).' The same is also found in κομβο- 'grandchild,' very likely a loanword from Lycian *xahba*. Even two Lydian borrowings show the same adaptation: Greek μόλυβδος, ου, ὁ, ἡ 'lead' (Mycenaean *mo-ri-wo-do-* /moliwdo-/) from Lydian *mariwda-* and λύγδος, ου, ἡ '(white) marble,' if its Lydian prehistory is accepted (see above).

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27 On the value of this letter, I follow the traditional view (as found, e.g., in Gérard 2005:62). Sasseville has presented an alternative: Lydian ⟨l⟩ represents /r/, while ⟨λ⟩ stands for /rʲ/ (see Euler and Sasseville 2019:127).

28 Among the Anatolian languages, such common voice assimilation also occurs in Pisidian: **h₂(e)ntowo-* > **hantawa-* > **kdawa-* > Γδαβα, Γδαβος (see Melchert 2013:35, also in Simon 2017d:38–39).

However, an Anatolian *a*-stem occurs as a Greek *a*-stem: the gloss βορβύλα, α/ης, ἡ 'cake made of poppy and sesame,' if it is actually a loanword from Hittite *pūrpura-, pūrpuri-* /porbura/i-/ 'ball, lump; ball-shaped breads or cakes' via a Luwic language. One wonders whether this fact shows that the word was never used in Greek (and that the gloss only cites a foreign word), or whether it has to do with a different transmission (a late borrowing?).

The *i*-stem of Hittite *kupahi-* 'headgear' is preserved in Greek κύπασσις, εως, ὁ 'short frock' < Hittite *kupahi-* 'headgear,' if the etymology is accepted. This is also the case of μίνδις, ιος, an assured borrowing from Lycian *miñte/i-*. In a similar way, πάλμυς, υδος 'king' preserves the *u*-stem of Lydian *qaλmu-* 'king.'

The *s*-stem Hieroglyphic Luwian *tipas-* 'bowl' is followed by δέπας, αος, τό 'goblet,' which shows the Greek intervocalic fall of /s/ (via /h/ between both stages). As happens in many anthroponyms, Lydian *kawe-* 'priest,' a noun in *-e*, is rendered in Greek καύης, -ου, ὁ following the inflection of masculine nouns of the first declension in *eta* (cf. πολίτης, gen. πολίτου). Finally, the consonant stem of Carian *quq* is rendered as an *ā*-stem in γυγαί 'grandfathers.' The remaining words adduced as Anatolian borrowings are not considered at this point because we do not know their original forms (γάγγαμον, κάνδαυλος, πιάτρα) or because they are derivatives in Greek (ἑρμηνεύς, πλαίσιον).

At this point, it is worth contrasting the information derived from the analysis given above with the adaptation of the anthroponyms. Of course, onomastic transmission has its own ways and cannot be used in the comparison with Hittite or Luwian, because among the Anatolian languages used in the Iron Age, only Lycian, Carian, and Lydian are fully proven to have a direct contact with Greek.[29] Even so, such material is sufficiently abundant to help in the explanation of some problematic points and in confirming other data.

So far, the Greek rendering of Lycian names is the most studied case in Anatolia due to the works by Adiego (2020a) and Réveilhac (2018). If we take the clear borrowing Lycian *miñti* > Greek μίνδις, we can find good parallels for the phonetic treatment and the morphological adaptation: ⟨m⟩ for μ as in *mula* > Μολας (TL 32, bilingual), ⟨i⟩ for ι as *tiluma* (TL 44) > Τιλομας, ⟨ñt⟩ for νδ as in *qñturahi* > Κονδορασις (TL 59, bilingual)[30] and, finally, the preservation of the

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original *i*-stem is found in many names, e.g., *huzeimi* = Οσαιμις (N 308, bilingual).[31] In a similar way, the double Greek rendering of **pijetr(i)*-, πιάτρα, and πιέτρα can be also compared to onomastic adaptation: *esedeplẽmi* > Ασεδεπλεμις and *hlm̃midewe* (TL 139) > Ελμιδαυα. The Greek preservation of the initial ⟨p⟩ and the loss of /j/ ⟨j⟩ can be compared to *Prijenube* > Πριανοβας (TL 24, bilingual). On κομβ- instead of καμβ-, see *hm̃prãma* > Εμβρομος (and Εμβραομος).

Among the Luwic languages of the first millennium BCE, Carian is the most cryptic, and advances are still being made in our understanding of its alphabet.[32] As far we know, there are two Carian words in Greek: γυγαί 'grandfathers' and ἑρμηνεύς 'interpreter, translator.' As has been seen above, ἑρμηνεύς was identified with the theonym Ἑρμῆς through folk etymology, something which has altered the sounds (the initial aspiration and the vowels) and the morphology (it is a derivative). Despite being a corrected gloss, γυγαί as 'grandfathers' is coherent with *quq*, the Carian word for 'grandfather' used in personal names such as Γυγος, *dquq*—Ιδαγυγος and the Lydian king's name Γύγης (Adiego 2007a:334–335).[33] In fact, γυγαί appears to share the same inflection with this last personal name (following the inflection of the πολίτης, ου type).

In Greek πάλμυς, υδος, we can see how the Lydian *u*-stem of *qaλmu*- 'king' is followed by the Greek loanword with a common dental extension for the oblique stems. However, *šrkaštus* is inflected as an *o*-stem in the Greek theonym Συργάστῳ (dative)[34] and, in the opposite direction, there is a clear Greek *o*-stem name adopted as a Lydian *u*-stem: *aλikšantru*- (LW 3, LW 50) from Greek Ἀλέξανδρος. In addition, the goddess *artimu*- (LW 1, LW 5, LW 23, etc.) has an *u*-stem but it occurs as an *i*-stem in Greek as Ἄρτεμις, Phrygian *artimitos* (B-05, genitive) and Lycian *ertẽmi* (N 311, 312, and 325). Although the etymology of this theonym remains an open question, the same distribution can be found in

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personal names: cf. Greek Δημοκλ[εί]δης rendered as *ñtemuxlida* in the bilingual N 312 and Old Persian **Dārayauš* > Lycian *ñtarijeusehe* (gen.sg. in TL 44).

31   However, it is not systematic. For example, Lycian *Purihimeti* has three different adaptations in Greek: Πυριματις, Ποριματις (spelling variant Πορειματις), and Πυριβάτης (bilingual).

32   See Adiego (2019b) for the recent identification of a new lateral, ⟨Í⟩, as found in the king's name *piĺipu* for Philip IV (Greek Φίλιππος).

33   The Greek rendering γ for the initial Carian ⟨q⟩ remains unclear. In internal position, Adiego (2007a:260) compared it to the lenition process seen in Lycian (*xuga* /kuɣa/).

34   On its occurrences, see Avram (2019). The same rendering is found in Old Phrygian Dd-102 *surgastoy* (dative).

the gloss *κοαλμεῖν, if the correction and identification with Lydian *qaλmu-* are accepted.[35]

In the adaptation of Lydian *kawe-* 'priest,' Greek καύης, ου, ὁ follows the tendency of inflecting personal names in -*e* following πολίτης, ου type; compare, e.g., *manes* (e.g., LW 43) with Μάνης, ου. Whereas the preservation of Lydian /k/ and /a/ is clear in καύης, the preservation of /w/ is not regular in all Anatolian personal names: together with Ἀλυάττης, which follows Lydian *welwet*[36] (with the drop of the initial sound), there are Greek adaptations of names containing the same root **walwa-* such as Οὐαλας (KPN 388 § 1134-1),[37] which preserves only the initial /w/. In the case of Lydian *mariwda-* as μόλυβδος, Mycenaean *mo-ri-wo-do-* /moriwdo-/ also shows the preservation of the sound (by the way, still not lost in this ancient Greek dialect). As happens in other Anatolian languages, this last word also shows how Lydian *a*-stem nouns occur as *o*-stems in Greek. This is also suggested for λύγδος '(white) marble,' if the Lydian etymology **lukda-* /lugda/ < **luk-iyo-* is accepted. Note, however, that it is not systematic, because Lydian personal names are commonly inflected as *a*-stems in Greek: cf., e.g., *nannas* (LW 20) and *nanas* (78) found in Greek inscriptions from Lydia (among other places) as Ναννας (KPN 351–352 § 1013–1024) and Νανας (KPN 348–349 § 1013–1010). Finally, πλαίσιον, ου, τό 'long quadrangle, rectangle,' from Lydian *pλašo-* 'burial installation,' is a derivative diminutive in -ιον. The Greek rendering of Lydian ⟨p⟩ as π is coherent with the bilingual inscription LW 40, where Lydian *Partara-* occurs in Greek as Παρταρας.

2.2 *Disputed Anatolian Borrowings in Greek*

Before commenting on the evidence, we now must present a few cases of alleged borrowings that remain disputed. Greek ἀχάνη, ης, ἡ 'name of a measure, chest, box' has been compared with Hittite *aganni-* 'bowl.'[38] The identification of both words is very enticing, despite the simplification of /n:/ in /n/ (cf. *ku(wa)nna(n)-* 'copper, ornamental stone' > Myc. *ku-wa-no-* 'smalt' /kuwano-/), the over-differentiation of the plain velar as aspirated (cf. θύρσος), and the different stem. However, this word is a *Wanderwort* spread across the whole

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35   See Loiacono 2020; Merlin et al. (2024b:292–294).

36   On the form *walwet* on Lydian coins and its possible form **walwat*(*es*) or **walwat*(*as*), see Dale (2015). His discarded interpretation of *kukal=im* as "I am a son/descendant of Gyges" instead of "I am of Gyges" does not affect this question.

37   The name is attested in Isauria. Both *welwet* and Οὐαλας may go back to *walwa-*, the Anatolian word for 'lion' (as in HLuw. LEO(ANIMAL)-*wa/i-sa* in TELL AHMAR 6 § 31).

38   See also Volume 1, Chapter 14, Section 2.2.

Near East (e.g., Akkadian *agannu* and Middle Egyptian *ı̓kn* 'pot' Wb I 140), and the source for the Greek word cannot be determined (as Simon 2018a:386 § 18 claims).

A similar problem is found in κάμηλος, ου, ὁ, ἡ 'camel.'[39] The ultimate source for this word must be found in the Semitic languages (e.g., Aramaic GML, Neo-Assyrian *gammalu*). However, as can be seen, Greek κάμηλος shows an unexpected initial devoicing. Yakubovich (2016a:87)[40] considered that Hieroglyphic Luwian *kamar(a/i)-* (ASSUR letter F+G §§ 28, 31) served as an intermediary between the Semitic word and the Greek. However, Rosoł (2013:43–44) and Giusfredi (2020a:54) posited that an intermediary between both forms was not needed; the former adduced that Hebrew *pileḡeš / pîleḡeš* 'concubine' occurs as παλλακίς 'id.' in Greek[41] while the latter stated that "the devoicing of an initial stop can easily happen in contexts of adaptation."

More problematic is Greek κύπελλον, ου, τό 'bulbous drinking vessel, beaker, goblet.' The word has been compared with two Anatolian words: Hittite *kukupalla-* 'a vessel' (Gasbarra and Pozza 2012:191) and Cuneiform Luwian or Hittite *hupalla/i-* 'skull, scalp' (Hajnal 2014:111). Both words present problems when compared with Greek: if *kukupalla-* is taken as the origin of Greek κύπελλον, one must assume the "the unexplained dereduplication as well as the unexplained -π- instead of /b/" (Simon 2018a:398 § 93) while *hupalla/i-* implies only the shift *h* > κ (see above κύπασσις and κάνδαυλος). Of course, if *hupalla/i-* is preferred, it is necessary to assume an intermediary language (which could also explain Greek -π- for Simon's adduced /b/ in Hittite) as well as a meaning development.

Furnée (1972:258) connected κυσέρη, ης, ἡ 'base, bottom; yawning chasm, gulf' with Hittite *huššelli-* 'pit, dump.' Simon (2018a:398 § 97) considered this possible only if a Luwian transmission is assumed to explain /l/ > /r/, a reflect of the postvocalic flapping [ɾ] (cf. Rieken and Yakubovich 2010:216–217). If accepted, it would be another case of ⟨h⟩ rendered as κ.

The noun λαβύρινθος is one of the most frequently discussed words concerning Anatolian borrowings in Greek. It has long been connected with λάβρυς, a Lydian word for 'ax' according to Plutarch (*Quaes. Gr.* 302a).[42] Interestingly,

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39   See also Chapter 4.

40   Grimme (1925:17) was the first to consider an intermediary necessary and pointed to Hittite.

41   Among Rosoł's list of early Semitic borrowings in Greek, there are no more examples for such devoicing and differs from Semitic /g/ > Greek γ found in γαυλός (cf., e.g., Akkadian *gaṣṣu*, Aramaic (Hatra) Gṣ, Syriac *gaṣṣā*; see Rosoł 2013:31–32).

42   καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα κατασκευάσας τὸν πέλεκυν ἐνεχείρισε, καὶ Λαβρανδέα τὸν θεὸν προσηγόρευσε·

the episode Plutarch describes takes place in Caria, where a Zeus Λαβραύνδος is recorded in Greek inscriptions. However, the main problem with this comparison is Mycenaean *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo*, a genitive depending on the theonym *po-ti-ni-ja* 'lady' in the tablet *jo* (KN Gg(1) 702, cf. DMic. 156). Therefore, there is a problematic evolution /d/ > /l/, for which reason some scholars rule out the comparison.[43]

The comparison with onomastic materials should also be approached carefully when correspondences are not assured. For example, the word πρῖνος, ου, ὁ, ἡ 'holm-oak, kermes oak' was compared with the Carian toponym Πρινασσός (GEW II 595). Although it is very common that a phytonym becomes a toponym, and Πρινασσός is the most similar word to Greek πρῖνος found in the area, we do not know the etymology of that Carian toponym and cannot conclude that both words are related. The same can be said of Greek σίδη, ης, ἡ 'pomegranate (tree)' with its many variants (EDG:1329). The word was connected in ancient times with the homonymous Polionym in Pamphylia. The coins of this city show a pomegranate and the ethnic *siδuawñiś* 'Sideans' in Sidetic (< **si(n)dua* + *-uann(i)*-, cf. Luwian *-uann(i)*-, Milyan *-wñn(i)*-, Lycian *-ñn(i)*-, and Carian *-yn*-).[44] However, a folk etymology could work here, although the most compelling argument for caution is that we do not know the origin of the word **si(n)dua*, such that the Anatolian and the Greek words could be a shared loanword from a third language. The word has been also compared with Hittite ᴳᴵˢ*šaddu(wa)*- 'a type of tree/woody plant' (CHD s.v.).[45]

Obrador-Cursach (2019–2020, accepted by Simon 2022:65) has recently analyzed Greek πύργος 'tower' as a loanword from a Lydian cognate of Hittite *parku*- / *pargau*- < *bʰŕǵʰ-u- 'high' (EDHIL:637). Although *prkus, the reconstructed from, remains unattested, it explains the word's lack of aspiration, the vocalism of the first syllable, the initial voiceless stop, and even the voiced second stop after /r/ by adducing Greek Συργαστος and Phrygian *Surgastoy* (dative) as rendering of Lydian *šrkaštus* (LW 11).

Greek σίλβη, ης, ἡ 'a kind of cake made of barley, sesame and poppy' is very similar to Hittite *šiluwa*- / *šiliwa*- 'a kind of cake' (see Neumann *apud* Tischler

Λυδοὶ γάρ 'λάβρυν' τὸν πέλεκυν ὀνομάζουσι "and he constructed a statue of Zeus and placed the ax in its hand, and called the god *Labrandeus* because the Lydians call the axe *labrys*."

43 See, e.g., EDG: 819 and Yakubovich (2002:107). See, however, the most optimistic view by Valério (2017).

44 On this legend and its variants (*siδuawñiś*), see now the detailed study by Ferrer (2023), who also confirms the value of the Sidetic letter ⟨w⟩ by the alternation with ⟨u⟩.

45 As can be seen, the identification of the phytonym is assured only by the determinative, but the exact species is unknown. On a proposal for the internal reconstruction for Sidetic *siδua*- and Greek σίδη (and variants), see Simon (2018a:403 §131).

2006:1039). Note that ⟨β⟩ in late Greek can denote /w/, and only an apocope is needed to match both words. However, we do not know the sources of the gloss by Hesychius and "we cannot be sure that we are dealing with a loanword and not with the transcription of a local word" (Simon 2018a:403–404 §132, with references).

Laroche (1966b:163) suggested that the noun σόλος, ου, ὁ 'mass or lump of iron (in throwing)' is derivative from *Hittite šulāi- / šūliya-* 'lead.' Despite the expected vocalism /u/ and the different stems of the Hittite word, Laroche's proposal has been considered plausible albeit dubious by Simon (2018a:404 §137), whereas Egetmeyer (2010:301–302) does not rule out a shared borrowing from a third language. Unfortunately, we do not know the origin of the Hittite word.

Neumann (1961:94–65) cautiously connected Greek στλεγγίς, ίδος, ἡ 'scraper for scraping off oil and dust, curry-comb' with *ištalk-* 'to level, flatten' by considering a noun derived from this root parallel to his hypothesized Hittite **ištalkiš*. The intermediation of Lycian, which he suggested to explain the incompatibility with a direct Hittite borrowing (the vocal shift and the lack prothetic *i-* in the Greek forms), does not fit at all (Simon 2018a:405 §139). In any case, the Greek form has some variants (e.g., στλιγγίς, στλαγγίς, στελγίς, στελγγίς, στελεγγίς) which can be inferred as representing an original from **stl-*, which is very rare in this language (Simon 2018a:405 §139) and never found in inherited words.

The noun τολύπη, ης, ἡ 'a clew of wool or yarn' is generally accepted as a loanword from Cuneiform Luwian *taluppa/i-* 'lump, clod (of clay and dough),'[46] but a Greek inheritance has been also defended as possible by De Decker (2015:13, followed by Simon 2018a:406 §146). If a loanword is preferred, τολύπη shows the Greek perception of Luwian [a] as [o] as found in Mycenaean *ko-wo-* /kowo-/ and the epigraphic kinship term κομβ- ~ καμβ- (see above). For the possibility that a Pre-Greek substrate is involved, cf. also Chapter 11.

Finally, very problematic is τύραννος, ου, ὁ 'absolute ruler,' which has long been considered an Anatolian borrowing in light of Luwian *tar(ra)wani-* 'high official, ruler.'[47] Nowadays, this hypothesis is often rejected,[48] but the Greek word remains unexplained. The main argument for dismissing the connection is the vocalic divergence in the first syllable: Greek τύρ- cannot follow Luwian *tar-* (Simon 2018a:406 §150).

46　First, in Furnée (1972:35 n. 33 and 340), accepted by Melchert 1998; Yakubovich 2010a:147; Gasbarra and Pozza 2012:190; Hajnal 2014:111; and Hajnal 2017:2042.

47　On this title, see Giusfredi 2009.

48　E.g., in EDG:1520 (without argument). It is not included in Hajnal's (2017:2042) list of clear Anatolian borrowings in Greek.

3   Summary and General Discussion

According to recent research, the accepted Greek borrowings from Hittite are very few—about a dozen—with no agreement among scholars as to which (and how many) actually exist. Among those accepted by a near-majority of scholars are Gr. κύανος, η, ον < Hitt. (NA4)*ku(wa)nna(n)*-; Gr. δέπας, αος, τό 'goblet' (Myc. *di-pa-*) < HLuw. *tipas-* 'bowl' (Pre-Greek instead, according to Beekes 2014:142, and possibly a Mediterranean word, according to Chantraine 1933:421, cf. Chapter 11); Gr. θύρσος, ου, ὁ < Luw. *tuwarsa-*, κύμβαχος, ου, ὁ < Hitt. *kupahi-* (Pre-Greek instead, as per Beekes 2014:142); and Gr. μόλυβδος, ου, ὁ, ἡ < Lydian *mariwda-* 'dark,' words for which a detailed analysis has been provided above. Indeed, although this situation is unsurprising given the lack of a linguistic boundary directly involving Hittite and Greek, several details—as well as the very number of accepted loans—depend first of all on the criteria used by each scholar in determining when a given Greek word is etymologically a true borrowing from an Anatolian language.

Among recent and overarching contributions, Hajnal (2017:2042)[49] posits a set of four criteria, at least three of which must be fulfilled before a term can be considered even a candidate for classification as a loanword. These are: a) phonological correspondence between the two words, including possible phonetic adaptations of Greek as the target language; b) correspondence in meaning; c) the absence of another possible source form; and d) the presence of phonological or morphological traces of the model language. In our view, such conditions are not all equally representative: in particular, d) could be included within a), and if a), b), and d) concern internal linguistic aspects of the word form, c) concerns an external aspect related to the existence or non-existence of other *comparanda*. Thus, upon the appearance of a *comparandum* from a third language not previously considered, the picture must be revised: in such a case, we may have found a *Wanderwort* instead of a loanword, or a loanword from another language—not from the language previously postulated—or even a word that was inherited by one of the languages and then transmitted to neighboring languages by contact.

If we compare the lists of (alleged) Anatolian borrowings in Greek that scholars have compiled, we find that they are not the same. Each of these studies proposes, more or less explicitly, a set of criteria for including or excluding certain lexemes. There is also no agreement on the terminology to be used; for instance, the word κύανος—which is present in all recent surveys—is for Simon (2018a:380–381) the only almost assured loanword falling into the cate-

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49   It appears in a handbook devoted to Indo-European studies. See also Hajnal (2014).

gory of *Kultur-* or *Wanderwörter*, whereas per Hajnal (2017:2041), it should not even be taken into consideration because the two categories (i.e., loanword and migrant cultural word) must be kept separate. This seemingly minor distinction has implications for the overall picture, leading to the identification of an even smaller number of Anatolian loanwords in Greek; for Hajnal (2017:2042) there are only six: δέπας, κύμβαλον, κύμβαχος, κύπελλον, μόλυβδος, and τολύπη. These words are defined as *Hittite cultural words*. In other terms, according to Hajnal's methodology, the category of *cultural word* encompasses not only loanwords, for which the corresponding word in the source language is assured, but also *Wanderwörter* (or migrant words), for which a unique source language cannot be established with certainty. Thus, the distinction between the two concepts is merely methodological and depends on our ability to reconstruct the origin of a borrowing process, no matter how simple or complex it may have been.

Having raised the problem of the definitions, it is still possible to draw some conclusions. An important one regards the word classes involved, because all the words are nominals. Furthermore, they generally indicate physical objects or qualities, rather than abstract concepts. This is consistent with the hypothesis of the borrowability scale: nouns and nominals (e.g., κύανος is attested as an adjective), predominantly over verbs, are the content words representing the lexical interference that normally correspond to casual contact (see Thomason and Kaufman 1988:74–76 and Volume 1, Chapter 14). In the list of certain or possible borrowings between Greek and Anatolian, there are no verbs or other parts of speech. At first glance, a very different situation emerges for the (alleged) loanwords from the Pre-Greek non-IE substrate in the account of Beekes (EDG, and 2014): several verbs, but also adverbs and interjections— as well as abstract expressions—are included in the list of forms. However, a closer look appears to reveal that the fundamental argument of Beekes's Pre-Greek theory lies almost exclusively in phono-morphological alternations, rather than in semantics and word-class taxonomies, thereby allowing for the possibility of dialectal variation internal to the Greek language (see above, Chapter 11).

Grammatical interference (of which we have no evidence for the earliest period and Mycenaean age, apart from phraseological correspondences that are dealt with separately; see Chapter 12) has certainly existed, but it particularly affected the languages of the first millennium BCE in specific areas of contact (see Chapter 15).

3.1   *Phonology and Morphology*

Beyond the linguistic analysis provided for the single words in Section 2, it is worth observing that some phonological phenomena are common to a group of

borrowed nouns, although the complete regularity and coherence in the target language should not be expected for lexical interference. As for the consonantism, the Anatolian (Hittite or Luwian) initial laryngeal and fricative [x] (or whatever corresponded to the *h*-signs of the Cuneiform and Anatolian hieroglyphic syllabaries) is rendered by [k] in Greek (e.g., κύμβαλον, κυσέρη, κύπελλον), which is also the rendering of the voiceless velar [k] as in κύανος; the presence of an initial voiced stop in Greek as opposed to a voiceless stop in Hittite (γάγγαμον, βορβύλα) points to an intermediate Luwic dialect. Different forms of simplification, such as degemination (as in ἀχάνη or κύανος) or haplology (as in κύπελλον), may also occur and are not so typologically exceptional. As for the vocalism, a Luwian or Luwic /a/, which might have corresponded to [ɑ], can be rendered as ⟨o⟩ in Greek, as a representation of [o] because the Anatolian model could have been perceived as an open-mid vowel, as in κῶας or κόμβιον, or possibly because of the assignment of gender in the target grammatical system that, contrary to Luwic, distinguished masculine and feminine nouns and mostly assigned -*a*-themes to the former group, and -*o*-themes to the latter and to neuters. Finally, some words show the lowering of [e] in [i] (e.g., δέπας from *tipas*-).

From a morphological point of view, there is a substantial correspondence in stems: -*i* stems are adapted as -*i* stems (κύπασσις), and the same occurs with *s*-stems (δέπας); *a*-stems are inflected following the first declension of Greek when adapted as *a*-stems (βορβύλα) and following the second declension when analyzed as *o*-stems. All in all, except for the glosses (for which nothing can be said about the declension), all the words are apparently inserted into a regular Greek declension, and the reproduction of the stem is normally preserved—which is again unsurprising, because all new words and neologisms tend to acquire regular unmarked morphological behavior, a tendency that also applies to loanwords.

3.2   *Frequency and Productivity in the Target Language*

The case of glosses, for which we possess virtually no grammatical information, is indeed an extreme case in a *continuum* that differentiates words depending on the amount of attestation and evidence. Glosses such as the Hesychian βορβύλα and δόλπαι, as well as σίλβη (Hesychius and Dioscorides Pedanius), could therefore be isolated phenomena of code-switching, or perhaps references to a part of tradition lost to us, or even local words not recorded elsewhere (see Chapter 13).

Nevertheless, even for words that are actually directly attested in texts, evidence within the Greek vocabulary of individual lemmas is not the same. There are highly attested terms, such as δέπας (more than 500 occurrences in the TLG)

or θύρσος (more than 400), in all textual genres, as well as other terms that are attested in restricted contexts (e.g., ἀχάνη). In this sense, because the available evidence is highly unbalanced, it is difficult to define every single word as a truly integrated loanword. Certainly, a term like δέπας is highly likely to be a true loanword; this is proven by the fact that the model word is attested in the source language (HLuw. *tipas-*). The Gr. δέπας is perfectly integrated into the Greek lexicon and a small number of derivatives are attested as well, which indicates morphological integration and productivity (noun δέπαστρον, n. with the same meaning, and adjective δεπαστραῖος, adj. 'in/of a cup').[50]

On the basis of the typology of loanwords described in Volume 1 (Chapter 14, Section 1.1.3), the majority of Greek loanwords belong to the adapted category, as there is no evidence of foreign words that would be external to any inflectional Greek pattern. The second criterion, that of productivity, is strictly dependent on the attested documentation; for example, κυμβαλίζω 'play cymbals' is the attested denominal verb from κύμβαλον, ου, τό, possibly modeled on Hitt. ᴳᴵˢ*huhupal-*, and it forms a series of derivatives together with κυμβαλιστής, οῦ, ὁ (m.) and κυμβαλίστρια, ας, ἡ (f.) both indicating a 'cymbal-player.' The word θύρσος, ου, ὁ (likely from Luw. *tuwarsa-*) is also highly developed, both in derivation and in composition (e.g., θυρσόω 'make into thyrsi,' θυρσοφορέω 'bear the thyrsus,' θυρσομανής, ες, 'who raves with the thyrsus'). For other possible loanwords there is no attestation of derivatives (e.g., ἀχάνη, ης, ἡ) without this precluding the word from being a true loanword—or perhaps better, in this case, a *Wanderwort*—because the exact model language cannot be determined.

4   Concluding Remarks

This chapter sought to emphasize 1) the importance of transmission and 2) the flexibility in the reproduction of the source language by the target language. For the first point, it should be remembered that contact can occur in a synchronic stage of coexisting living languages (e.g., Greek and Anatolian languages of the first millennium BCE) but also diachronically between two written literary texts. Moreover, mediation forms multiple networks in which two types of factors act simultaneously, namely linguistic factors (transmission from language

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50   According to Chantraine (1933:421–422), neuter nouns in -ας formed a non-homogenous group, which includes archaic terms (often indicating traditional and religious objects) and possible borrowings.

A to C via a language B) and textual factors (a gloss in Hesychius commenting on Hipponax), for each of which the diachronic dimension and the course of time is involved.[51]

Consider the following example of language mediation seen above (Section 2.2): Is the word *camel* in contemporary English a loanword from Semitic? The answer is both yes and no—ultimately yes, at the end of the transmission chain, but not directly. It may be more accurate to say that *camel* entered the English lexicon through the Old North French variant *camel* (which retains the Latin /k/ of *camelus* rather than the affricate seen in other French variants, such as *chameau* in Modern French), which itself was inherited from Latin. Latin borrowed the term from the Greek κάμηλος, which, in turn, was borrowed from a Semitic language, as mentioned earlier—with the intermediation of Luwian according to Yakubovich (2016a:87), though this is unnecessary for Rosoł (2013:43–44) and Giusfredi (2020a:54). In this sense, English *camel* should be defined as a Romance borrowing, rather than a Semitic one. This is historically and geographically corroborated by the relationships between English and French during the 17th century CE. The same reasoning could be applied to ancient languages, albeit with a substantial difference in the quantity and quality of documentation, which is often scarce, fragmentary, or both.

Definitions of what loanwords are, and how they differ from other forms of contact—such as code-switching or other forms of occasional quotation—provide valuable research guidelines. In our analysis, we have preferred to adopt the broadest possible view, not in terms of the quantity of lemmas collected (which would go far beyond the limits of the research) but rather in terms of the representativeness of the phenomena. Therefore, glosses or local renderings of foreign terms have not been excluded *a priori*. The picture is complicated by the fact that fine-grained etymologies for closely related languages requires a clear definition of the rules of historical phonology in order to determine which forms are deviating from the genealogical transmission and thus susceptible to being included among contact phenomena. However, in some cases, neither Greek nor Anatolian etymology is assured with complete certainty. Therefore, the study of lexical interference consists of more or less supportable hypotheses that must always consider the philological analysis of texts as well as context and geo-historical plausibility.

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51   See Merlin et al. 2024a.

Greek and the Anatolian Languages of the First Millennium: Lycian, Lydian, and Carian

Elena Martínez-Rodríguez and Stella Merlin

1   Introduction[1]

This chapter addresses language contact between Late Anatolian languages and Greek from a synchronic perspective, that is, it considers the material that roughly corresponds with the written stages of Lydian, Lycian, and Carian. The denomination of Late Anatolian languages responds to the dating of their corpus of inscriptions, attested only during the first millennium BCE.[2] Diachronic considerations may be only circumstantially included, for they are referred to in Chapter 14. The chronological framework of the present corpus of study is more difficult to delimit at the end of the written phases, for indirect material—especially onomastics—endure beyond the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Other types of indirect evidence, such as glosses, are treated in Chapter 13.

The variety of linguistic landscapes that the Greek language of Anatolia presents in this period is generally described by means of the historico-cultural events of Classical times, rather than from epigraphic materials, which, in addition to being under-studied, also entail the problem of the dispersal of publications that complicate a corpus delimitation. Brixhe (1993) has provided a valuable study of the linguistic picture of Greek in Anatolia, through direct documentation and in the contemporaneous written phases of the Late Anatolian languages. The author emphasizes the strong Ionian element in Caria during the 4th century BCE, explained by continuous contacts with the Ionian territory and the influence from Miletus, which would have displaced a primary Doric dialect of the area at an early stage. In contrast, only after the Carian satrap

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1   We are grateful to Ignasi Adiego for his valuable comments on Section 2 of this work.

2   On linguistic grounds, these languages are traced back to, at least, a contemporaneous phase with their sister languages of the second millennium: Hittite, Palaic, and Luwian. On the historical geography of these territories during the second millennium BCE, see Gander 2022. For its possible correlations with the Lydian-speaking communities, see Yakubovich 2010a:77, Roosvelt 2012, and Simon 2021b.

Mausolus (361 BCE) became incorporated into the government do Ionian traces appear in Lycia, whose Greek inscriptions in the 4th century BCE have Attic as its Greek dialect. The use of Attic in Lycia may have been triggered by a political event, namely their accession to the Delian League in 470 BCE.[3] Whether this event also displaced primary Doric dialectal elements is difficult to state, because most of the doriophonic evidence is based on foundational mythography and our limited knowledge of the first Greek migrations to coastal Anatolia. Most of the studied Greek documentation of Anatolia belongs to an elevated register, attested in official dynastic texts and poems, which do not necessarily reflect the use of the Greek vehicular language of the territory. Bearing in mind all these considerations, multilingual documents containing Greek and one of the Late Anatolian languages, listed below, are at the moment the most significant texts for the direct study of language contact in this chapter.

In Classical times, Late Anatolian-speaking communities occupied the western and southwestern territories of Anatolia. Located in the north, Lydia was delimited by the Kaikos and the Meander rivers, whereas the eastern frontier, bordering Phrygia, varied over time. Caria is located between Lydia, with the Meander River as the natural border, and Lycia—the Indus River being a diffuse boundary between the territories. In turn, Lycia, on the peninsula between the modern gulfs of Fethiye and Antalya, borders Pisidia to the east. These collineations naturally create confluence areas between Anatolian-speaking communities: Tralleis and its surroundings, between Meandros and Mount Messogis, is an area of Lydo-Carian convergence, whereas the region around Telmessos shows a coexistence of Carian and Lycian elements (see Section 2.1.2).

All three languages employ individual epichoric alphabets, the moment of reception and adaptation of which is still disputed.[4] The first inscriptions in Lydian and Carian date back to the Pre-classical period (7th–6th centuries BCE), coinciding with the moment of expansion and prosperity of the Lydian Empire. Early Carian inscriptions bear the particularity of being placed in Egypt, where most of the Carian corpus is attested, a fact that responds to

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3 The Athenian hegemony after the Persian Wars drove the gradual introduction of Attic elements into the Ionian dialect from Anatolia that developed into the *koinification* of the Greek language, which spread and imposed after the conquest of Alexander the Great in the year 333 BCE.

4 They appear clearly related to the Greek alphabet, although not necessarily derived from it in a direct way. The dating of the earliest documentation in Phrygian, its proximity to the Lydian alphabet, the possible interference of secondary models, and the individual innovations, are some of the elements in an ongoing discussion around the kind of Greek donor of these alphabets. An updated state of the art is provided in Adiego (2018).

the employment of Carian mercenaries by Pharaoh Psammetichus I (664–610 BCE). Somewhat later, the first epigraphical evidence in Lycia dates to the end of the 6th century BCE, the recent find of a graffito at Patara likely being the earliest document (Dündar and Réveilhac 2021).

The fate of all three territories was affected by the Persian conquest of Anatolia, led by Harpagus, the Median general of Cyrus the Great. The destruction of Sardis in 546 BCE was rapidly followed by the annexation of the rest of the territories to the Achaemenid Empire. By the end of the 6th century BCE, Sardis rises as the satrapal center of the Persians in the West, from where diverse military operations are managed, from the Ionian Revolt against Darius I (499–494 BCE), which followed the Median Wars (First 492–490 BCE, and Second 480–479 BCE), to various uprisings. In the course of these events, the different Late Anatolian entities are inevitably involved in the confrontations between Persians and Greeks, in some cases switching between factions. Lycia's case is especially notorious, having joined the Athenian Delian League in 470 BCE, only to defect to the Persian side in the early phase of the Peloponnesian War in 429 BCE. Caria played a prominent role in this scenario after the suppression of the Satraps Revolt (372–362 BCE), when Artaxerxes placed Lycia under the control of the Carian satrap Mausolus and brought its dynastic system to an end. The Carian Hekatomnid dynasty, of a marked philhellenic tendency, had made Greek its administrative language, a fact that impacted the annexed Lycia.

The conquest of Alexander the Great in 333 BCE triggered the rapid decline of the local alphabets, although the exact moment when the local script ceased to be employed is disputed. In the case of Lydian, Gérard (2005:20) follows Gusmani's chronological classification (1964:17–19 and 1980:15–17), which, *contra* Melchert (2008b:56), places some inscriptions in post-Classical times (3rd–1st centuries BCE). In the case of Carian, at least one inscription would be post-Hekatomnid (C.Ka 5, end of the 4th century BCE.; Adiego 2007a:155), whereas Lycian dating of post-Classical inscriptions is highly controversial (Rix 2015 for Hellenistic inscriptions, refuted by Christiansen 2021). In all likelihood, these languages may have endured in the spoken register in the private sphere during the Hellenistic period.

The corpora of the Late Anatolian Languages consist of ca. 120 Lydian inscriptions (Melchert 2001a), including coin and seal legends; ca. 206 Lycian inscriptions (Melchert 2001b, Christiansen 2019b) with about 100 coin texts (Mørkholm and Neumann 1978); and ca. 250 Carian inscriptions (Adiego 2007a) with about 50 coin legends (Konuk, in Adiego 2007a). The Lycian corpus contains a fourth language, Milyan (or Lycian B attested in only two inscriptions, TL 44c:32–65, d:1–71, and TL 55), whose linguistic filiation remains an open question (see recently Kloekhorst 2022a:69–70). The Greek bilinguals are

two Lydian–Greek bilinguals (LW 20 and LW 40), nine Lycian–Greek bilinguals (TL 6, 23, 25, 32, 45, 56, 65[?], 72, 117, N 312, 320, NN 343), six quasi-bilinguals (TL 44c:20–31, 70, 134, 139, 143, N 302), and five Carian–Greek bilinguals (C.Hy 1, C.Si 2, C.Ki 1, C.Ka 5, G 1). The epigraphic genres contained are mostly funerary epitaphs, cult regulations, honorary decrees, and dynastic historical accounts.

The presence of relevant innovations attributed to the Luwic group in Lydian has prompted the connection between the Southern Anatolian group and Lydian (Rieken 2017:303), although it still remains a matter of debate whether these common traits are attributable to a genealogical affinity or to an areal phenomenon. Among the shared innovations with the Luwic languages, as stated by Rieken (2017) and Melchert (2003c), are the 1sg. pres. *-wi (Lyd. -u/-w, Lyc. -u); nom.pl. *-insi (reflected in Lyd. acc.pl. -š [ç], nom.pl. Lyc. -˜i and Car. -š), and two structural innovations: the substitution of the genitive case for a relational adjective (Lyd. -li-, cf. Luw. -assa/i-, Lyc. -ehe/i-/-ahe/i-), and the i-mutation (insertion of -i- before case ending in casus rectus of the common gender, but extended to neuter endings in some adjectival stems in Lydian; on which see Sasseville 2017). On the verbal morphology level, it is relevant to quote the incorporation of the verbal stem *duwV- 'to put, place' > Lyc. tuwe-, Lyd. cuwe- (Melchert 2003), whose origin is not exempt from debate. Other common traits include the loss of the laryngeal in the factitive suffix -a- < *eh_2 (vs. Hitt. -ahh-) in both Lydian and Luwic, or the verbal and nominal formations derived with the causative-iterative suffix *-éye/o- (Sasseville 2020:550). Recently, it has been proposed that the Lydian infinitive ending -l connects to the Luwic infinitive forms (Lyc. -ne/-na) through a rhotacism phenomenon -l < *-ra < *-na from *-una (Sasseville 2021). However, the linguistic filiation of this language is still vigorously debated (recently, Kloekhorst 2022a; Yakubovich 2022).

2   Phonetic and Morphological Interference

Onomastics have played a relevant role in the decipherment and understanding of the Late Anatolian Languages at the early stages of their investigation. However, this type of material is not suitable for inferring information regarding ethnic linguistics on the subjects bearing these names, because onomastics are more susceptible to being borrowed among neighboring languages, or to traveling long distances due to concrete historical events. In spite of the limitations that this material presents in terms of accounting for language contact, punctual adaptations, as well as secondary remodeling, are—as in common lexicon—relevant from the synchronic phonetic and morphological view-

points. Languages find different adaptation mechanisms to convey sounds that their phonetic repertoires lack in relation to the target language. Choosing an approximate sound, either in mode or point of articulation, or, from the graphic point of view, combining two different graphemes, are some of the processes that can be detected in the adaptations between Greek and the Late Anatolian languages. In addition, adapted lexicon and onomastics may have undergone further changes according to the phonetic and morphological constraints of the language of reception. Due to the volume of adaptations, onomastics are much more informative than lexicon in this regard.

2.1   *Onomastics*

Obstruents, digraphic notation, and voicing. Among the Greek graphemes representing two consonants, only ξ /ks/ presents a clear digraphic adaptation in these Anatolian languages: Lyd. *kš*, Lyc. *xss* (Mil. *xzz*).[5] Furthermore, digraphic notation can be found word-initially in the Lycian representation of dental voiced stops (⟨ñt⟩ /d/, e.g., *Ñtemuxlida* from Δημοκλ[εί]δης),[6] while in internal position Lyc. ⟨ñt⟩ is representing the Greek nasal sequence /nd/ (e.g., Lyc. *Milasãñtra* from Μελήσανδρος).

Conversely, in some examples, Carian letters ⟨β⟩ and ⟨δ⟩ appear digraphically represented by Greek: Car. PN (*I*)*βr-* > Gr. Ιμβρασσις, or Car. *Δarš* > Ανδαρως/Ανδροσως. In these cases, the Greek rendering coincides with the potential origin of the clusters (respectively, *mb and *nd), although the synchronic value of Carian ⟨β⟩ and ⟨δ⟩ is still disputed among, respectively, /mb/—/nd/, /ᵐb/—/ⁿd/, or /b/—/d/ (Adiego 2007a:247).[7]

Finally, the digraphs ⟨λλ⟩ and ⟨λδ⟩ appear in the adaptations to the Carian lateral sound ⟨λ⟩ (*Kilara* = Gr. Κιλδαρα, Κιλλαρα, KON § 510; *Pleq-ś* = Πελδηκος KPN §1234, *Qlalis* = Κολαλδις, LGPN v.B 240), showing an alternation between ⟨λλ⟩ and ⟨λδ⟩ that is likely to reflect a lateral geminate with a dental artic-

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5   Lyc. *Xssẽñzija* (Mil. *Xzzãta-*) from Ξανθίας; Lyd. *Alikšãntru-*, Lyc. *Alaxssañtra*, *Alixssãñtra* from Ἀλέξανδρος. However, no examples of this endure in Carian (Ξανδυβερις is likely to be adapted from Car. *kśatýbr-*; Adiego pers.com.).

6   Historical voiced stops underwent a loss of sonority in initial position in Lycian-Lydian-Carian (e.g., Car. PN *Piks* < *bʰeh₂-, Lyc. v. *ta-* 'to put' < *dʰeh₁-, Lyd. n. *kâna-* 'woman' < **gʷonā-*). Despite the lack of examples, this word-initial constraint may have endured in the synchronic adaptation of Greek onomastics, according to some tentative correspondences: Car. *PrKidas* /prŋidas/ = Βραγχιδαι (?), Lyc. *Tïwiϑϑeimija* = *Διϝ(ε)ιθεμις (?), Lyd. *Paki* = Βάκχος (?).

7   In a recent contribution, Adiego (2020b:105–107) analyzes the Saqqâra Carian sub-corpus and defends the argument that the nature of the Carian graphemes β, δ, γ, λ in fact responds to biphonemic heterosyllabic values (β = /m.b/, /m̥.b/, δ = /n.d/, /n̥.d/, γ = /n.g/, /n̥.g/, λ = /l.d/, /l̥.d/, /l.l/, /l̥.l/).

ulation in Carian (Adiego 2007a:249, 2020b:105; see fn. 7). Furthermore, this Greek rendering recalls the much-discussed Lydian name *Qλdãn-*,[8] the oddity of whose /-λd-/ cluster has been already noted and connected with a possible Carian origin by Melchert (*apud* Gérard 2005:32), on which see below (Section 2.1.2).

Sonorants. In Lydian, word-initial voicing finds another constraint in the case of dentals: Lyd. *Lamẽtru-* from dialectal Gr. Δαμάτηρ (rather than Ion.-Att. Δημήτηρ, Gérard 2005:57), and *Lefs* / *Lews* from dialectal Gr. Δεύς (Heubeck 1959:35, Gérard 2005:47).[9] In light of this phenomenon, the name of the Cimmerian ruler Lygdamis (Λύγδαμις), as reported by Greek historians (e.g., Herodotus 1.61), might be explained through Lydian intermediation (cf. adaptation in NAss. *Dugdammê*, Valério 2017:54–55).

However, it is difficult to state to what extent this alveolar sound-change is typological because, conversely, it is found in at least two Greek adaptations from Lycian: *Zẽmure* > Λίμυρα, and *Dapara-* > Λαπαρα, the second appearing in a bilingual text (TL 6).[10] This seemingly points to Lyc. ⟨D-⟩ being perceived fricative enough as not to choose Gr. /t/ or /d/ for the adaptation, but the lateral coronal fricative [ɬ] argued to be behind the /l/ in the Greek Λαπαρα counterpart (Valério 2015:340).

The discussion around the adaptation of the dental voiced feature is further complicated by the disputed value of the Lydian letter traditionally transcribed as ⟨d⟩, which plays a major role in establishing the when and how of different Greek adaptations. Two explanations stand: ⟨d⟩ with a synchronic value as a voiced fricative /ð/ (Melchert 2004b with references) or as an approximant palatal /j/ (Oreshko 2019; see Chapter 7). According to Melchert, it is the adjectival derivation that would have produced the outcome with dental in

8   Sasseville (Euler and Sasseville 2019) proposes phonetically interpreting *Qλdãns* as [kʷɾʲðãns] and connecting it with Gr. Κροῖσος, where Lyd. ⟨λ⟩ is a palatal flap [ɾʲ] and ⟨d⟩ [ð] rhotacizes to [z].

9   Very differently, Oreshko (2019:197 fn.7) regards them as independent outcomes, being *Lamẽtru-* of Balkan-Aegean origin, and *Lew-*/*Lef-* an inherited word (< **deị-u̯-ó-s*, cf. Lyd. *ciw-* 'god' < **di-eu̯-s*). According to him, initial voiced dental develops into either a voiceless/fortis dental /t/ or liquid /l/, as in these cases.

10   The alleged identification of the Lycian toponym *Zagaba* with Λαγβος/Λαγβη (KON § 669) is another possible example of the interchange between Lyc. ⟨z⟩ /ts/ and Gr. λ in initial position (cf. middle position > Gr. σ, Adiego 2020a:50). Three Greek inscriptions from Lycia attest Δαπαρα in late Hellenistic times and Roman times (LGPN V.B 97), which renders the bilingual example Λαπαρα a true synchronic attempt to reflect an initial Lyc. /D-/. *Contra* Oreshko (2019:201 fn.13), who regards the Greek form in TL 6:4 as an incorrect restoration by Kalinka (1901); see new autopsy by Christiansen (2020:180) showing crystal-clear *lambda*.

the gentilic of the Lydian capital Sardis: *sfar-iye/o- > Lyd. sfarda- 'Sardian' (cf. i-stem *Sfar(i)- 'Sardis'), hence > Gr. Σάρδεις. Oreshko (2019:198–199) regards the Lydian phonetic realization as /sfar-ja/, with an eventual synchronic fortition of the approximant in contact with a dental trill (/rj > rð > rd/) that is reflected in the adaptation with dental of Greek (Σάρδεις) and Old Persian (Sparda, cf. Aram. and Hebr. Sprd; see Chapter 7).[11] Compare, in this sense, the likely Lydian mediation in the adaptation of the Moon God epithet Τιαμου, from Luw. tiyamma/i-, as evidence for the approximant value of Lyd. ⟨d⟩ (Pisaniello 2021).

The second problem with the Greek rendering of the Lydian ethnonym Sfarda- concerns the absence of adaptation of the fricative /f/ phoneme in Σάρδεις,[12] which Persian did perceive. In light of this, Greek and Persian ethnonyms, despite having the same source, probably adapted it in different moments. As long known (Gusmani 1964), the form registered by the historian Xanthus (reported by Ioannes Lydus) as Ξυάρις represents the closest adaptation to the Lydian toponym *Sfar(i)- (<*Swar-, Gusmani 1975:172).[13] As for the approximant phonetic value in the Lycian data, its adaptation in Greek is not preserved in non-rhotic contexts (cf. Ιαμαρας from Lyc. Ijamara-, Πριανοβας from Lyc. Prijenube-, Μλααυσει from Lyc. Mlejeusi).

Aspiration. Lycian and Greek have in their phonetic repertoire an aspirated sound; in the latter, this occurs only word-initially. Nonetheless, Greek never notates the aspiration of Lycian (Μαναπιμιος from Mahanepijemi-, Πυριβατης/Πυριματις from Purihimete/i-, Σισαμας from Zizahãma-, Λα from Lyc. Hla-). The sigmatic rendering of Qñturahi- as Κονδορασις is instead explained as having Carian or Milyan as the original source (*s > Lyc. h, Mil./Car. s; cf. also, Πορασιματις, vs. Lyc. Purihimete/i-; see 2.1.2 below). In turn, Lycian writes the Greek initial aspiration (Lyc. Herikle from Ἡρακλῆς), in light of which its absence in

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11   Therefore, a conditioned change, different from the traditional assumption that ⟨d⟩ represents /ð/ in all contexts and on etymological grounds (Melchert 2004b, and Oreshko 2019 with references).

12   It is important to note that Lydian presents a graphic alternance between ⟨f⟩ and ⟨w⟩, the extent of whose phonetic implications is difficult to ascertain. There exists a certain consensus in assuming that forms where this alternance occurs may represent a voiced fricative value [v] (Gérard 2005:60). However, the borrowings where it takes place show two different sources, either voiced fricative ⟨w/f⟩ /β/ (Luw. Kubaba ~ Lyd. Kuwaw/Kufaw), or voiceless fricative in contact with a sibilant ⟨w/f⟩ /f/ ⟨ /u̯_/s/ but ⟩ /f_/s/ (Gr.Dial. Δεύς ~ Lyd. Lews/Lefs).

13   Homeric Ὕδη is connected to Sardis by Zgusta (KON §1398-1) after many classical references (e.g., Strabo 9.407). Garnier and Sagot (2020:172) trace the place name back to *ὑδ-ήεις 'rich in water' and reconstruct PA *su-wár-o- 'rich in water' > Lyd. *suwar(i)- 'Sardis' (CLuw. nt. wār- 'water').

Exeteija from Ἑκαταῖος can be explained as either a Milyan adaptation (cf. *Erikle* from Ἡρακλῆς), or as an orthographic interference from Greek alphabet, which does not represent aspiration at the moment when Lycian is attested.[14]

Other phenomena. Some adaptations from Greek show an apparent aphaeresis of /a/ in Lycian: *Nagura* from Ἀναγόρας, *Padrita/Pedrita-* from Αφροδιτα, *Tẽnegure/Tẽnagure* from Ἀθηναγόρας, Ἀπολλωνίδου (gen.) from *Pulenjdah* (gen.).[15] The phenomenon is commonly attested in Sidetic and Pamphylian, and particularly affects the theophoric names of Ἀθηνᾶ and Ἀπόλλων; for this reason, and as indicated by Skelton (2017:114), this phenomenon may reflect a lexical interference rather than a phonetic phenomenon (e.g., Sid. *Θandor*, Pamph. Θαναδωρυς from Ἀθηνόδωρος; Sid. *Pordor*, Pamph. Πελαδωρυς from Ἀπολλόδωρος).

Judging from its initial palatal stop, the case of Lyc. *Katamla*, designating the Carian Hekatomnids, appears to have been adapted not from Gr. Ἑκατόμνας, but rather from Car. *k̂tmño-* (Adiego 2007a:244), the variant of Sinuri (cf. Theban *ktmno-*). In turn, the initial-vowel restoration in Lyc. *Ekatamla* responds to a direct influence from Greek. In Carian, possible aphaeresis examples (e.g., *Ktai-* < Ἑκαταῖος) are difficult to distinguish from the actual defective notation of vowels that this language extensively presents (Adiego 2007a:238–239 with compilation).

Stem morphology. The prehistory of Lycian nominal class formation shows the secondary recategorization of *u*-stems into the *a*-stem or consonantal stems class (Martínez-Rodríguez 2019:224 with references). This constraint is reflected in the integration of the Greek *u*-stem into the Lycian *s*-stem inflection in the case of Lyc. *Zeus-* from Ζεύς, where the paradigm is created from the Greek nominative, and also in the consonantal velar stem of Greek (*Thuraxxs(i)-* from Θώραξ, *Xelijãnaχssa-* from Καλλιάναξ).[16]

As for the adaptations of Anatolian names in the Greek stem morphology, some dialectal features have been identified by Brixhe (1993): several Carian names show the dental extension for genitives, a typical Ionian trait (Καρξας/Καρξαδος, Πελεκως/Πελεκωδος), whereas in Lycian, dative singular in -ει

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14 I owe this valuable observation to Federico Giusfredi. Note that another variable to consider is that the source of Lyc. *Exeteija* is Ionic Greek, and thus, a psilotic form Ἑκαταῖος, which is, in addition, particularly common in Caria (Adiego pers.com.).

15 *Pinike* from Ἐπινίκιος (Neumann 1979:30) is controversial (cf. from Φοῖνιξ sec. Metzger 1972:164).

16 *Contra* Oreshko (2020a:32 fn.56), who denies the borrowing Lyc. *Zeus* from Gr. Ζεύς on the argument that the wrong adaptation of the stem would indicate an unexpectedly low level of Greek knowledge, inflectional recategorization is to be seen as a true sign of integration of an adapted word in the spoken language.

and genitive inflection under the *s*-stem are Attic traits (e.g., dat. Μλααυσει from Lyc. *Mlejeusi*, gen.sg. Πυριβατους from Lyc. *Purihimeteh*), in clear correspondence with the general areas of influence of these dialects (see Introduction). The Doric element is the most residual, despite some isolated examples in the common lexicon (see Section 2.2 below). On the explanation that genitives in /-a/ in Greek inscriptions from Lycia (gen. Καρικα, Λα, Ορτακια, Πριανοβα, Αρκεσιμα) equate to the Doric inflection (Merlin and Pisaniello 2019:96), perhaps arising from the influence of neighboring Rhodian (Réveilhac 2018:533), one might also consider the creation of asigmatic genitives in masculine *-a* and *-o* nouns in Greek from Lycia and Caria (Brixhe 1993:78, cf. gen. Ἑκατόμνω, in the Greco-Carian bilingual C.Si 2, and the Greco-Lycian bilingual N 320).

Tendencies. In Lycian and Carian, the popularity of names in /-kle/ adapted from -κλῆς, with loss of final /-s/, is widely attested: Lyc. *Perikle* from Περικλῆς, *Terssixle* from Θερσικλῆς/ Τερψικλῆς, *Herikle* (DN) from Ἡρακλῆς; Car. *Lysikla-* from Λυσικλῆς, *Nik*[---]*la-* (*Nik*[*ok*]*la-*/*Nik*[*uk*]*la-*) from Νικοκλῆς, *Urskleś* from Ὀρσικλῆς. Note that the Lycian adaptation with ⟨k⟩ /c/, rather than ⟨x⟩ /k/, as also Carian ⟨k̂⟩ /c/ or /kʲ/, do not correspond to the Greek phonetics, which may be due to a secondary palatalization produced by the contact with /l/ (Adiego 2020a:48). Alternatively, and at least for the case of Lycian, epigraphic interference produced by the formal coincidence of the Greek and Lycian letter ⟨k⟩ may have played a role, arising from the coexistence of the two alphabets.

Calques. The most representative example of a calque in onomastics is Lyc. *Natrbbijẽmi* from Ἀπολλόδοτος ('given by *Ntr-*,' with reflexes on Greek from Caria Νετερβιμος), which is, in turn, the example accounting for an alleged influence of Greek names formed with participles in Lycia and Pisidia (Melchert 2013:48). However, the fact that most examples are to be reconstructed (Ὀρνεπειμις from Lyc. /**Urnepijẽmi/ from Gr. Μεγιστόδοτος, Schürr 2007:36),[17] or that we may be confronting the generalization of a lexicalized element in the Anatolian names of indirect transmission (ᵒπις, ᵒπιας, ᵒπεας, ᵒβιος, ᵒβιας, ᵒβιης, ᵒπιμις, ᵒπειμις, ᵒπεμις, etc., Houwink Ten Cate 1961:176–177), casts doubts on an assumed structural influence.

Another source of discussed calques are divine epithets. Here, too, the debate hinges on diachronic considerations, and the option of punctual translations based on parallel equivalences cannot be discarded: e.g., *Malija hrixuwama* = Ἀθηνᾶ ἐπίσκοπος (cf. **sri-huwa-* 'to run' > 'to observe' > 'to assist,'

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17   On this example, furthermore, the fact that Μεγιστόδοτος is a *unicum* in the Greek onomastic corpus makes it likely that the direction is from Lycian to Greek (Adiego 2020a:46).

García-Ramón 2015:133), or Car. *Trquδe k̂λmu=δ* = Ζεὺς στράτιος (cf. **kuwalan-muwa-* 'the power of the army' *vel sim.*, Loiacono 2018–2019:139–145, Valério and Yakubovich 2022).

On the basis of the correspondence in the bilingual TL 72 of Lyc. *mahãi nelez*[.] with Gr. οἱ θεοὶ ἀγοραῖοι, it has been proposed that *neleze Trqqñt-* in N 324:8 is the local equivalent to Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος (Neumann 2007:239), from which the form *zeusi garãi* (TL 44b:62) has, in turn, been proposed to be its adaptation, reinforced by the idea of a Lycian aphaeresis (Melchert 2014:68; see counterarguments in Oreshko 2020a:32 and fn.23).

A final problem concerning these types of correspondences is the mediation of folk etymology or reintroduction of already adapted elements. An example of this situation occurs in the bilingual TL 25, where Lyc. *Xssbezẽ* corresponds with PN Πόρπαξ (cf. πόρπαξ, ᾰκος, ὁ, 'handle of a shield'), a name unattested in the Greek corpus—with the exception of a reference to a dog's name by Xenophon (*Cyn.* 7.5, Merlin and Pisaniello 2019:94). If the connection responds to that of a calque (Hajnal 1995:35 fn. 28, DLL 109), its direction remains unclear. The fact that the Lycian form contains ⟨xss⟩, normally employed for the Greek rendering of ⟨ξ⟩, and that the Greek form is unattested in the rest of the personal names corpus, speaks against a plain calque (Adiego 2020a:46), for which reason the mentioned phenomena of a reintroduction of an already adapted elements as also folk etymology may be operating.

2.1.1 Readoption and Remodeling Processes: Back and Forth between Anatolian and Greek

Readoption and reintroduction of toponomastics were common processes, not only identified in widely known examples registered by the literary tradition (e.g., Gr. Λυκία and Hitt. *Lukka*), but in all likelihood operative in shorter spans of time. Some onomastic doublets or triplets that present a clear phonetic correspondence appear to account for this phenomenon: e.g., Carian adaptation *Uliade* from Gr. Οὐλιάδης, a particularly common name in Caria explained by its resemblance to Gr. Υλιατος/Ολιατος, in turn adapted from genuine Car. *Wljat-/Wliat-* (Adiego 2007a:428). In a similar manner, the Lycian form *Ipresida-*, traditionally connected to Luw. *Immaraziti-* (NH §450), has been proposed by Adiego (2011) to be the adaptation of Gr. Ἰμβρασίδης, a form with dental extension that Greek might have created from an already existing Lycian or Carian word (cf. Ιμβρης, Ιμβρασ(σ)ις, Lyc. *ipre-*, Luw. *im*(*ma*)*ra/i-* 'open field').

Lydian also presents this situation, albeit in a diachronic trajectory that poses more problems to trace back and difficulties to integrate within the epichoric evidence. This especially concerns the names that endured in the Greek

historiographical tradition, an important indirect source of Lydian. Regarding how the data from literary tradition can be integrated into a Lydian historical scenario, the double and triple naming of Lydian dynasts, as reported by Herodotus (1.7), has been interpreted to reflect a process of reconversion of names, titles, and appellatives by foreign communities, ultimately creating an overlapping of names of one individual that would have endured over the local designations. The most representative example is the triad Sadyattes—Candaules—Myrsilos (Σαδυάττης, Κανδαύλης, Μυρσίλος), the last king of the Heraclid dynasty (ca. mid-7th century BCE), where the first designation would be the original name, the second an appellative based on the title, and the last a reinterpreted patronymic, showing a fossilized *li*-adjective from Μύρσος (Adiego 1999–2000).[18]

A second question revolves around how the internal analysis individually connects with the synchronic and the diachronic evidence of Lydian. In this sense, some names of the literary tradition recall Lydian epichoric onomastics: e.g., Ἀλυάττης, cf. Lyd. *Alu*- (LW 49:2, 4a:1, 4b:2), and coin legend *Walwet* (Dale 2015);[19] Κροῖσος, cf. *Karo*- (LW 10:1, 27:2, 25:4, 2:4, 26:1);[20] and Γύγης, cf. coin legend *Kukalim* (Dale 2015).[21] Although they do not necessarily imply a direct adaptation, they may respond to processes of remodeling and readoption, over larger spans of time, thereby accounting for long and continuous interactions between Lydians and Greeks (cf. double reception of Lyd. *qaλmu*-; see Chapter 14), for which reason much of the discussion around these names focuses on the ultimate identity of the Anatolian element from a diachronic perspective.

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18   As for Κανδαύλης, the first part of the name is etymologically connected to Luw. *hantawatti*- and Lyc. *xñtawat(i)*- (Carruba 2003:154), but explained as the adaptation of Car. *kdow*- 'king' reconverted into a title (Yakubovich 2010a:94–95).

19   *Walwet* (cf. Luw. *walwa(i)*- 'lion'), parallelly adapted as Οὐαλας; cf. recent finding of coin the legend *Alya* (Gander 2019) showing the same iconographical motives as the *Walwet* coin, and reflecting the first part of the name Ἀλυάττης, which could have been secondarily adopted by Lydian.

20   Synchronically adapted as Gr. Καρους (Gusmani 1988:186); Carruba (2003:155[10]) analyzed Κροῖσος as an ethnic appellative **K(a)rwijassi*- 'the Carian' (< **Kar(k)-wi(ja)-assa/i*- 'of the Carian woman'), in clear reference to Croesus's Carian maternal ancestry; Sasseville (Euler and Sasseville 2019) regards it as the reflex of Lyd. *Qλdãn*-; see fn. 8.

21   Γύγης, reported by Assyrians as *Gug(g)u* in the *Rassam Cylinder* (Pedley 1972:82), would present an assimilation **/xuγa-/ > /γuγa-/ (Yakubovich 2017) in relation to epichoric PN *Kuka*- (coin legend; Dale 2015 with references). The name is etymologically connected to the Anatolian word for 'grandfather' (Hitt. *huhha*-, Luw. *huha*- and Lyc. *xuga*-) and presents reflexes in other Luwic languages: e.g., Car. PN º*quq* (Adiego 2007a:334), Γυγος (Caria, KPN § 239), Κουγας (Lycia, KPN § 717).

2.1.2   Interference among Late Anatolian Languages and Areas of Confluence

The attribution of certain phonetic traits in Greek adaptations to an Anatolian language can appear diffuse in cases of proximity to bordering territories. This is illustrated by the rendering of the site Tralleis, placed north of the Meander River (and thus beyond the natural frontier of Caria with respect to Lydia), which presents the adaptations Τραλλεῖς—Τραλδεῖς. The Greek alternation ⟨λλ⟩/⟨λδ⟩ appears in adapted Carian names, but it is also discussed in relation to the Lydian anthroponym *Qλdãn-* and its uncommon /ld/ cluster (see above). Therefore, besides the proposal of a Carian origin, one might also consider the possibility of an interference due to areal proximity (note that, to the present date, the Anatolian epigraphy found at Tralleis is Carian, C.Tr 1, C.Tr 2).

The interference of an area of confluence could operate in some Greek adaptations occurring in Lycian territory, which might better respond to Milyan phonetics (e.g., Κινδο names; Martínez-Rodríguez 2021a). In this case, the situation is further complicated by the geographical undefinition of the Milyan-speaking community, whose designation is a modern convention, and for which reason other casuistry cannot be discarded.

Besides bordering aspects, concrete historical events appear responsible for inter-Anatolian interference as well. For instance, the annexation of Lycia to the rule of the Carian satrapy in 360 BCE and the instauration of the cult of the King of Kaunos by the Hekatomnid Pixodarus, may account for the Greek rendering Κονδορασις in the Letoon trilingual (N 320G:9) of Lycia (cf. Lyc. *Qñturahi*, *s > Lyc. *h*, but Car. *s*).

2.2   *Common Lexicon*

Evidence of linguistic contact from the common lexicon is substantially limited in both directions, and concerns mostly the Lycian material (on its endurance in Lycian, Lydian, and Carian glosses, see discussion in Chapters 13 and 14). In this section too, the question remains as to whether borrowings have been integrated into the language or respond to punctual adaptations. This situation applies to Lyc. *trijere-* from Gr. τριήρης, εος, ἡ 'trireme,' while, in the other direction, Gr. μίνδις, ιος, ἡ from Lyc. *miñte/i-* 'funerary authority' and Gr. καύης, ου, ὁ from Lyd. *kawe-* 'priest.' The idea of a simple Greek transcription of either a local or foreign word (Simon 2018a:379) is difficult to demonstrate with the available material.[22] However, one must consider that the existence of inflected forms—

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22   As discussed below, titles and epithets are susceptible to becoming punctual adaptations or calques, for which reason a loanword Lyc. **gara-* from ἀγορά 'assembly' is far from assured based on the equivalence dat.sg. *zeusi garãi* (TL 44b:62) = Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος. On the

as the derivations μενδῖτης, ὁ and μενδῖται, οἱ, from Gr. μίνδις (from Lyc. *miñte/i-*), or fem. *καύεις (acc.sg. καύειν, IGRom. 4.1755) from Hipponactean καύης in an epichoric inscription from Sardis—implies that the words became integrated into the Greek language at some point. Here the discussion revolves around how the linguistic context of these communities is to be defined in order to account for either a borrowing into Greek, or Greek of Anatolia showing substrate elements during the Hellenistic and Roman periods when the local languages ceased to be used, at least at the written level.

More assured, albeit somewhat problematic, is the Lycian loanword *sttala-* 'stele.' On account of its phonetics, Lyc. *sttala-* is traditionally argued to be borrowed from a Doric dialect (Dor. στάλα, vs. Ion-Att. στήλη). According to the areas of influence of the Greek dialects over coastal Asia Minor during the Classical Period (v. Introduction), the diminished presence of Doric would point to *sttala-* being an early loanword in Lycian. Note, however, that its endurance is restricted to inscriptions commissioned by the aristocratic social class, that is, the local dynasts: *Xeriga* (TL 44a:1, 44c:5, 7) and the strongly Hellenized Carian satrap Pixodarus (N 320:23, 33–34 and perhaps TL 45b:8). For this reason, and in light of the existence of a Lycian verb *stta-*, it cannot be ruled out that we are looking at a proper Lycian derivation from the Lycian verb *stta-*, synchronically developed in analogy to the Greek word for 'stele.' In this sense, Lycian is productive in showing *figurae etymologicae*: *pijêtẽ pijatu* "(he) gave a gift" (TL 57:4–5), *ñte-pddẽhadẽ pddẽnehm̃mis* "((s)he) assigned a commander" (N 320:2–4, cf. N 320G:2–3 κατέστησε ἄρχοντας, *pace* Melchert 2018), and, regarding the discussed case, *sttati sttala* "a stele will be placed" (TL 44c:5).[23]

Some borrowings can be safely established through diachronic and comparative evidence: Greek from Lycia πιάτρα, ας, ἡ (/πιέτρα) 'daughter-in-law,' would be the adaptation of an unattested derivative of v. *pije-* 'to give' by means of a *-tr*-suffixation (cf. Luw. *piyatr(i)-* 'donation,' Schürr 1999; see phonetic analy-

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apheresis feature that characterizes other adaptations from Greek to Lycian in onomastics (see Section 2.1). Doubtful discussed loanwords, also based on a phonetic closeness in Lycian, include Lyc. *ãm̃mãma-* from Gr. ἄμωμος 'blameless' (Neumann 2007 s.v. and Oreshko 2020a:32, but not accepted by Schürr 2012:32), and Lyc. *manaxine* from Gr. μονογένης 'only, single.' In these cases, the meaning attributed from Greek is poorly supported by the contextual evidence of the inscriptions.

23   On the etymology of Lyc. *stta-* (**steh₂-*), see García-Ramón (2015:121), *pace* Oreshko (2020a: 31–32) (and earlier Melchert 2008a:54, in light of the oddity of Lyc. *stt-* cluster), who argues for a borrowing of both *stta-* (Gr. ἵστημι/ἱστάω) and *sttala-* (Dor. στάλα) in the 12th–11th centuries BCE "resulting from the situation of a high-level Greek-Lycian bilingualism." In parallel, the /a/-timbre is attested in the Roman-era form στάλλα (< Aeolic) and in the Isaurian theonym Σταλλος (Obrador-Cursach and Corral-Varela 2023:242).

sis in Chapter 14);[24] Greek from Lydia and Caria, respectively: καμβειν/κόμβος 'small,' cf. Lyc. *xahba-* 'grandson' (see analysis in Chapter 14); Gr. πύργος, ου, ὁ 'tower' from unattested Lyd. **prkus* (cf. Hitt. *parku-/pargau̯-* 'high'; Obrador-Cursach 2019–2020); or Gr. πάλμυς, υδος, ὁ (/Πάλμυς) ⟨ Lyd. *qalmu-* (/*qaλmλu-*) [kʷalʲmʲu] (cf. Post-Myc. Greek **kʷ* ⟩ *p*), whereas other connections remain more tentative: e.g., ταύς and ταύσας 'great' (Hesychius τ 259–260), cf. Lyd. *tawsa-* 'great, powerful' (Gérard 2005:46); or νικύρτας (Hipponax Frgm. 28.5; Hesychius ν 577 δουλέκδουλος 'born-slave'), proposed to be a borrowing from Lyd. **nikud(V-)* 'nobody' (negative particle + relative adverb 'where' (Watkins 2007:119–120).

As mentioned in relation to toponomastics, popular etymology may have mediated in cases where phonetics do not correspond. Such is the case of the sole secure Carian loanword in Greek: ἑρμηνεύς, έως, ὁ 'interpreter' from Car. *armon*, where both the initial aspiration and the /e/ vocalism are due to folk association with the god Ἑρμῆς (Adiego 2010a:153).

A final group concerns calques, most of which require an etymologization discussion to account for their semantics, and which are in all likelihood to be regarded as simple equivalent terminology in each language (Gusmani 2007): Lyc. *asaxlaza-* = Gr. ἐπιμελητής 'manager, curator,' *pddẽnehm̃me/i-* = Gr. ἄρχων 'ruler,' *epewẽtlm̃me/i-* = Gr. περίοικος 'dwelling round,' Lyd. *šerliš šrmliš* = Gr. νεω-ποίης 'temple worker.' However, in the case of nom.pl. *epewẽtlẽmẽi* = περίοικοι, an identification between περί 'round about' and *epe-(wẽ)-tl-* has been analyzed by Adiego (1993) on the grounds of a derivation from PIE **kʷel-/kʷl-* (> Lyc. *tl-*, cf. **kʷei-* > Lyc. *ti* 'who'), preceded by the local prep. *epi* (cf. Luw. *appa-* 'behind'), and compared to lexicalized participles (e.g., *tideime/i-* 'son'), establishing the meaning as 'the ones that stand/move behind.' In addition, note that the Lycian word can be taken as an exact calque if the second element °*m̃mẽi* is connected to the lexeme *m̃me/i-* 'building' (DLL: 42), thus calquing Gr. οἶκος, ου, ὁ.[25]

Typological parallelism is a final element that concerns the discussion around calques, likely operating in the case of the equivalence between Lyc. *kumehe/i-* (N 320:27) = ἱερεῖον (N 320G:25) 'sacrificial animal' (*pace* Oettinger 1981:11), where a semantic derivation to **kume/i-* 'sacred' (DLL: 33–34) is conceivable (Oreshko 2020a:33).[26] However, it is unlikely in the case of Lyc. *prñnezi* (*je*)- 'household member' from οἰκεῖος (*contra* Rutherford 2002:204–206) be-

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24   Brixhe (1999a:89–91) explains it as a regional variant πάτρα 'father's sister, aunt.'

25   Nonetheless, the expected inflection of the nominative plural form would be **-m̃mi.

26   Lyc. *ahñtâi* (N 320:17), which in the bilingual is translated as οἰκήματα 'dwellings' (N 320G:15), is tentatively referred in previous literature as another example of Greek calque (Rutherford 2002:205, cf. Lyc. **ah-* 'to be' and Gr. ὄντα/οὐσία 'possessions'). How-

cause, as already observed by Brixhe (2007:933), it is not employed by Greek in filiation to denote this meaning.

3   Grammatical Interference

In this section, we address the question of grammatical interference between Greek and the three main Anatolian languages of the first millennium we are dealing with, namely Lydian, Lycian and Carian.[27]

Handbooks and general references tackle this issue from the point of view of both Greek and Anatolian studies. In particular, one may mention the articles collected in the *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Literature*. Melchert (2014a, 2014b) on Greek and, respectively, Lycian and Lydian, certainly contains references to grammatical phenomena, whereas van den Hout (2014), who writes about Greek and Carian, refers mostly to the phonological level. The contributions of Adiego (2007b, 2007c, and 2007d) on all three languages in contact with Greek also discuss grammatical aspects, as does the work by Brixhe (2007). Finally, Hawkins (2010) offers an overview on the interactions between Greek and the languages of Asia Minor.

These contributions normally address the subject in terms of the possible relationships and of the available evidence of linguistic contact between Greek and each of the Anatolian languages of the first millennium BCE. In our presentation, we would like to propose a general approach to the languages of the first millennium, thus following a thematic organization of the contents. As such, we will start from the phenomena rather than from the single languages.

3.1   *Phraseology and Formulae*
The study of phraseology and formulae involves not only lexical and grammatical interference, but also the problem of linguistic and textual interference, which may be limited to written, literary language or may extend to other varieties of a language as a system. In the rather rigid texts that make up the corpora of interest, the study of phraseology may address a number of different formulaic expressions, such as filiation formulae, curse formulae, or other more-or-less fixed and recurrent expressions that are more difficult to categorize. Phrasemes, when borrowed, are generally translated (or calqued), which makes bilingual documents the ideal materials where such phenomena may be

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ever, it has been argued that, if segmented as *tahñtâi*, a connection with Lyc. *ϑϑe-* 'place of sacrifice' (DLL:74) can be drawn (Schürr 2016a:125).

27   For minor languages, see Chapter 17.

found. Due to the nature of the corpora, the Lycian corpus is that which offers formulaic material in bilingual documents. However, methodological problems arise that should be explained in a linguistic fashion.

In his 2020a paper, Oreshko, basing on the previous work by Rutherford (2002), includes among phrasemes and formulae a number of semantic calques, including Lyc. *kumehi/i-* 'sacred' for Gr. ἱερεῖον, and Lycian *prñnezije* for Greek οἰκεῖος. Because in these cases no morpho-syntactic pattern is induced or modified by contact, we preferred to mention them when dealing with the lexical level (see Section 2.2 above). On the other hand, when the borrowed formula impacts the grammar or basic semantics of the linguistic material employed in the target language, the possibility of interference becomes much more compelling.

For instance, the formula (*hrppi*) *atli ehbi*, meaning 'for himself,' has been described as a calque of ἑαυτῷ 'for himself' (Seyer 2006; Melchert 2014a, but cf. the observations by Oreshko 2020a:34). The idea that interference is at work is indeed quite convincing, because in this case there is a pleonastic repetition of a reflexive element (-*ti* occurs in Wackernagel position, and then the *atli ehbi* formula also occurs).[28] The fact that some redundancy can be expected for emphatic purposes, as Oreshko (2020a:34) appears to suggest, does not obliterate the semantic and grammatical pleonasm, which makes Greek interference at least a possibility that one should take seriously. Unfortunately, such examples are not numerous, and some—such as that involving Gr. ἔστω ἁρμάτωλος εἰς 'be a sinner toward' and Lyc. *sm̃mati* (*pddẽ*), or the possibility that Lyc. *alaha-* 'concede' is calqued on Gr. συγχωρῆσαι—depend on uncertain analyses and etymologies by Schürr (2010: 149–151) and Oreshko (2019, 2020a), respectively.

The possibility of identifying phraseological interference also exist in monolingual documents when we are dealing with highly formulaic textual sections in geographical areas of contact. One such case regards the analysis of common strategies in the morphological formation of patronymics. In a recent reassessment, Obrador-Cursach (2021b) traces the salient stages of the debate by proposing an overview of the formation of patronymics in Asia Minor during the first millennium, considering the Anatolian languages, Phrygian and Greek.

According to Obrador-Cursach (2021b:55–58), during the Iron Age different linguistic strategies existed in order to express the relation of filiation. Some

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28   Note, however, that the analysis of -*ti* as a reflexive pronoun is not completely certain. See Kloekhorst (2011) for a different interpretation.

languages have at their disposal more than one strategy (e.g., Greek or Lycian), whereas for some other languages no alternatives have been recorded (e.g., Carian or Lydian).[29]

A first strategy is that of using the so-called *genitival adjective*, an adjective morphologically derived from the genitive of the father's name by means of a suffix which thereby hosts the mark of agreement with the proper name of the son or daughter to which it refers. In this case, the word for 'son' or 'daughter' may or may not be expressed. The attested suffixes for such a genitival adjective are numerous. In Lycian, we find *-h* and its variants *-hñ* and *he*.[30] In Lydian, we find *-li-*. Aeolic Greek has adjectives in *-yo-* that show a similar function. Below, we provide a couple of relevant examples from the Anatolian corpora of the Iron Age:

Lycian:

> *tikeukẽprẽ …*   *urtaqijahñ*   *kbatru*
> PN.acc.   PN.*GenAdj*.acc.sg. daughter.acc.sg.
> "(to) Tikeukẽpre, daughter of Urtaqija" (TL 25a:5–6, Tlos)

And Lydian:

> *manelid*   *kumlilid*   *silukalid*
> PN.*GenAdj*.nom-acc.sg. PN.*GenAdj*.nom-acc.sg. PN.*GenAdj*.nom-acc.sg.
> "Manes (the son) of Kumli- (the grandson of) Seleukia" (LW 1:4, Sardis)

In Greek, the derived patronymic adjective could be formed through several suffixes: -ιος, -(ι)δᾱς, or -ιων. Thus, in Greek we find patronymics such as, e.g., the Homeric Τελαμόνιος for Ajax, and Πηλείδης, or Αἰακίδης for Achilles, son of Peleus and grandson of Aeacus. As summarized by Weiss (2010:110), the suffix -ιος, tracing back to an PIE *-iyo-*, was used to form deverbal adjectives, such as ἅγιος 'sacred' from ἅζομαι 'respect, worship' and genitival adjectives, such as σωτήριος 'saving, salvific' from σωτήρ 'savior, protector.' This derivational suffix, having the meaning of 'belonging to, pertaining to' ends up being a patronymic in some Greek dialects, as in the Homeric examples quoted above. As discussed

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29   For a summary, see the recapitulative table in Obrador-Cursach (2021b:58).

30   According to Adiego (2010b), the different forms of the genitival adjective found in Lycian can be explained on the basis of an analogical creation and depend on the grammatical case according to the following scheme: genitive + nom.sg.: *-h*; genitive + acc.sg.: *-hñ*; genitive + loc.sg.: *-he* (Adiego 2010b:6).

by Obrador-Cursach (2021b:59) such a formation is common to Mycenaean and Aeolic, a fact for which different explanations can be suggested: first, an independent development; second, a common inherited feature; and third (but not completely in contradiction with the previous point), an archaism of a peripheral area which at least in Aeolic remained as such due to the influence of similar structures in the neighboring Anatolian languages.

The forms in -ίδας/ίδης have been treated as borrowings from Lydian in Dardano (2011), improving the previous analyses by Kearns (1994) and Keurentjes (1997). However, the chronology of the Mycenaean attestations and the existence of the Lydian suffix -li- in building patronymics make the picture less convincing, as extensively analyzed by Obrador-Cursach (2021:61–66, with references). It is worth noting that Greek alphabetic inscriptions lack any patronymics in -ίδας/ίδης, which instead occur sparsely in the Cypriot syllabary.[31] All in all, the most common and widespread Greek expression of the relation of filiation remains the genitive case of the name of the father.

The situation of Carian regarding patronymics is more opaque. It has been debated whether the value of Carian forms in -ś was that of a true genitive or rather that of a genitival adjectives, although the former solution appears preferable (Melchert 2010c:178–179). Furthermore, the identification of *mno-* as the word for 'son' is also not without problems.[32] In any case, the overall picture changes little, in the sense that Carian may have displayed one or more strategies of patronymic expression, from the use of the genitive (with or without the noun for 'son') to the use of an adjective.

> *psuśoλś*   *malś:*   *mnoś*
> PN.gen.sg.C PN.gen.sg.C son.gen.sg.C
> "of Psuśoλ, son of Mal".[33] (C.Ka 1, Kaunos)

Finally, the presence of the noun for 'son' has been the subject of a previous study on the Lycian–Greek bilinguals (Merlin and Pisaniello 2019). At least in bilingual texts, where the pressure of the Lycian version of the text certainly played a role, the presence of υἱός (normally not present in monolingual documents) was indeed almost certainly triggered by the Lycian pattern featuring *tideimi*. The opposite phenomenon, namely the omission of *tideimi* in Lycian

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31   Occurrences are reported in Obrador-Cursach (2021b:61).

32   See eDiAna s.v. *mannawa-* for detailed discussion (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=776). For a different analysis of *mno-*, see Martínez-Rodríguez (2021b).

33   Cf. Adiego 2010a:170, with caveats.

because of a Greek model, is more difficult to evaluate (also because of the scarcity of documentation), but in at least one instance (N 312), this appears to be the case (Merlin and Pisaniello 2019:99).

3.2   *Syntactic Features*

3.2.1   Word Order

If the question of patronymics and filiation formulae is, first of all, a morphological and morpho-syntactic problem, the patterns of word order lead us into the core of syntactic analysis. It would be superfluous to remark that when discussing the syntax of Iron Age languages—and, consequently, their relationships with Greek—the picture cannot be homogeneous precisely because of the nature of the documentation available to us: for Lycian we have fairly extensive texts but also some Lycian–Greek bilinguals, whereas for Lydian we have few Lydian–Greek bilinguals and even understanding the texts remains quite difficult. As for Carian, we have a Carian–Greek bilingual from Kaunos, and a very fragmentary bilingual stele from Athens.

Accordingly, the Carian material, which is only partly understood (cf. Adiego 2007a:295–300), does not offer examples of contact-induced alterations of the word order. In Lydian, variations in the word order are attested (Rizza 2013), but no indication exists that these were influenced by interference with Greek. Lycian, on the other hand, once again offers more data.

The study of word order can be addressed at both the phrase and sentence levels. The former level concerns the analysis of NPs from the perspective of the relative order of modifiers and noun, such as the case of the expression 'nobody else' that is found in funerary inscriptions, as studied by Macedo (2021). After having collecting data from Greek epigraphic material from Asia Minor, Macedo analyzed these formulae in the light of the information structure, noting that the fronted object, which is marked by a contrastive focus, may produce a reverse word order in the element of the NP, depending on the position in which it occurs within a clause. This is interesting because the phenomenon occurs both in Asia Minor Greek and in Lycian, with ἕτερος/ἄλλος δὲ οὐδείς/μηδείς and Lyc. *kbi tike* occurring clause-initially and Lyc. *tike kbi* and Gr. οὐδεὶς/μηδεὶς ἕτερος/ἄλλος occurring clause-internally (or, in Macedo's fine-grained model, post-verbally). Quite clearly, the two languages mimic each other, although Macedo's claim that the original order is dictated by Lycian depends on chronological bias (the Lycian specimina are older than the Greek ones) and not on structural consideration on typology of the two languages.

Whereas general clause and sentence architecture usually relies on clause-level contextual conditions, such as the above case, the proper sentence-level phenomena regard the major constituents in the sentence, which generally

affect the possible orders of subject, predicate, and internal argument. It is well known that many ancient IE languages followed an unmarked SOV order, even though Greek is indeed less rigid than other languages of the family. In the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor, however, it is unusually common to find a fronted object, especially the expressions τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα, or τὸ μνῆμα τόδε, in initial position (e.g., H ii 34, TL 6, TL 117), mimicking Lycian topicalized objects in both bilingual and monolingual texts.[34]

Another similar phenomenon that we find is the initial position of the verb in the Greek sentence, which in the Letoon trilingual, regardless of the debate on the unmarked word order in Lycian (Garrett 1994:30–31, but cf. also Rutherford 2002, and Chapter 6), definitely mimics the structure of the Lycian entries. The phenomenon has been described by Rutherford (2002:212–216), and may be explained as depending on an unmarked word order of Lycian (in case it was indeed—and quite unusually—VSO) or, more likely, on an informationally marked one. In either case, the order in Greek depended on the order in Lycian.

3.2.2   Presence of Determiners

Because Greek and Anatolian behave differently with respect to the parameter of expression determination and definiteness, the observation of possible interference at the phrase level with regard to the expression of such features is particularly significant, as well.

The absence of the definite article in some Greek contexts where we might expect it may have depended on interference with Anatolian, although this is generally not the only possible explanation. For instance, in all the Greek documentation, and not only in Asia Minor, proper names in epigraphs regularly bear no article (cf. Réveilhac 2021:89). In Asia Minor, especially in Lycian–Greek bilinguals, some patterns emerge. For instance, before γυνή 'woman, wife,' the article is normally expressed, whereas it can be omitted before υἱός 'son,' as in the case of TL 117, where the two form an inconsistent coordinative structure wherein the first noun is determined but the second one is not (see Merlin 2022).[35]

More interesting is the analysis of other parts of speech that may express definiteness, such as demonstrative adjectives and pronouns, which exist in most languages and in Greek may be combined with the very article, thereby producing a number of possible patterns (e.g., τὸ μνῆμα, τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα, μνῆμα τόδε). In

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34   For the presence of a similar phenomenon involving Aramaic in TL 152, see Chapter 6, above.

35   Cfr. TL 23, τοῖς τέκνοις 'the children,' with the article expressed.

these constructions, the article is generally present, and its absence appears to be irregular and sporadic, while the demonstrative generally corresponds to a similar form of Lycian.

3.2.3   The Function and Regency of Prepositions

A peculiar set of interference phenomena appears to affect a trio of prepositions and/or adverbials: 1) the Greek preposition and preverb ἐπί, 2) the quasi homophone Lycian adverbial and preverb *epi*, and 3) the Lycian preposition and preverb *hrppi*. On the one hand, in a small number of (admittedly quite obscure) occurrences, Greek ἐπί appears to have influenced the very function of Lycian *epi*, changing its meaning from adverbial 'backward' to 'on, upon.'[36] On the other hand, the use of Greek ἐπί with the dative and the use of Lycian *hrppi*, also with the dative, match each other in bilingual contexts (e.g., TL 56; Rutherford 2002:56). Nevertheless, in this case as well, it is difficult to speak of mutual or unidirectional influence because both forms are grammatical in their own language.[37]

3.2.4   Connective and Conjunctions

Finally, connectives and conjunctions also must be addressed, because the typological structures of Greek and Anatolian diverge in this respect as well. Lycian *se* is a typical Anatolian connective and, as such, it occurs frequently in clause-initial position due to its pragmatic function of marking logical connection between two clauses. Greek, on the other hand, uses a proper coordinating conjunction, καί, both for coordinating words and phrases and for coordinating clauses and sentences. What appears to occur in the Letoon bilingual is that the occurrences of καί in clause-initial position are much more frequent than expected, which has been described as a result of the influence of Lycian clause-initial *se* (Blomqvist 1982:17–18; Rutherford 2002:207–208, see also Melchert 2014: 68). This phenomenon seems a convincing example of interference at the level of the document—thus, rather than being proof of proper interference between languages, it is best described as a case of *translationese*.

It is also interesting to notice that the very connective *se* in Lycian, contrary to other connectives attested in Anatolian (such as the *nu* of Hittite and the *a* of Luwian), coordinates not only clauses but also noun phrases, e.g., *hrppi: ladi ehbi se tideime* "for his wife and children" (TL 19). In this respect, it behaves

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36   See Melchert (2014a:68, with further reference), but cf. the different analysis in eDiAna s.v. **opi* (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=3087).

37   On this topic, see also Dressler (1964) and, recently, Daues (2009:59).

as a proper coordinating conjunction, thus sharing the functions of Greek καί. Whether this could be seen as a change induced by contact (Melchert 2014:68), or whether it was merely a trivial typological development, remains open to discussion.

4   Concluding Remarks

The chapter has dealt with the study of possible first-millennium linguistic contacts between Greek, on the one hand, and Lydian, Lycian, and Carian on the other. For the study of lexical interference, the onomastic material proves to be of primary importance for these languages, not so much on the level of cultural-historical reconstruction, but more so on that of the phenomena of phono-morphological adaptation intervening in the recipient language. The data for analysis are unbalanced, depending on the size and quality of the different corpora: whereas for Lycian there are numerous elements (and, consequently studies concerning the syntactic level), for Carian and Lydian the situation is less felicitous. Conversely, for Lydian, lexical interference appears to be the most investigated, not least because of the substantial number of glosses handed down to us by tradition.

Some final considerations concern methodological aspects. First, our analysis shows that in the search for the possible connections between Anatolian and Greek proper names or common lexicon, the principles of historical linguistics should always be applied, thereby separating as much as possible the comparison from the reconstruction, which is ultimately of little help in recognizing interference phenomena. Second, there is not always a bidirectional Greek–Anatolian language influence, and the presence of intermediate languages and *areas of convergence* among Anatolian languages is also frequent.

As for grammatical interference, due to the prevalence of data, the Lycian–Greek interface is the only one that has produced any significant results. Interference has been proposed in both directions, but Lycian is more frequently described as the model language; however, the reasons offered for this model are not always convincing, as in the case of the parallelism of Lyc. *tike kbi* and Gr. οὐδεὶς/μηδεὶς ἕτερος/ἄλλος, in which Lycian is treated as the model simply because the oldest examples are attested in Lycian.

Late Languages of Marginal Attestation: Pamphylian, Sidetic, and Pisidian

Stella Merlin and Valerio Pisaniello

1   Introduction

In this section, we introduce three languages attested in a circumscribed geographical area located roughly in the central part of southern Anatolia: Pamphylian, Sidetic, and Pisidian, which are presented in order of relevance to the study of language contact. These languages pose a number of problems in terms of documentation, interpretation of texts, and genealogical filiation. However, they also provide some interesting data for the study of language contact.

Pamphylian is a Greek dialect, but, unlike other Greek dialects, its documentation includes only epigraphic evidence (and plausibly some glosses in scholarly tradition); no literary texts have come down to us. Sidetic and Pisidian are Anatolian languages and probably belong to the Luwic branch. They are also attested only by epigraphs, which mostly include personal names.

Their chronology is not entirely consistent: whereas Pamphylian and Sidetic display coeval documentation and plausibly were in contact with each other, Pisidian documentation is significantly later.

2   Pamphylian

Pamphylian is a little-known language attested in around 300 inscriptions written in an epichoric Greek alphabet and in coin legends, coming mostly from the city of Aspendos, and to a lesser extent from the sites of Syllion, Perge, and Selge in Pamphylia, the ancient name of a region that lay between Lycia and Cilicia, on the south coast of Asia Minor, under Pisidia.

2.1   *Pamphylian People and Language*
That Pamphylian is included in a chapter about minor Anatolian languages may be surprising. As a matter of fact, from a genealogical point of view, it has been proved, since Brixhe (1976a), that Pamphylian is a marginal dialect

of Greek, which had many chances to strongly interfere with Anatolian local languages attested in the same period. The languages that were in contact with Pamphylian were Lycian and Sidetic, the latter a language that is transmitted by fewer than a dozen of inscriptions from the city of Side, which in fact was located in the very region of Pamphylia.

The people of Pamphylia are not mentioned by the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and start appearing in literary Greek sources in two sporadic occurrences in the Archaic and early periods: the elegiac poet Tyrtaeus (7th century BCE) and the great tragedian Aeschylus (6th–5th centuries BCE).[1] Later, Herodotus quoted them a few times in different parts of his *Histories*,[2] often including their name among others that indicate more or less neighboring populations, or eastern ones in general, such as Carians, Lycians, and Cilicians, but also Paphlagonians or even Egyptians.

Pamphylians are also mentioned in the *Bibliotheca*[3] by the historian Diodorus of Sicily (first century BCE), and by Arrian of Nicomedia in his work *Periplus of the Euxine Sea*[4] (second century CE), as well as by other ancient historical, geographical, and scholarly sources.

2.1.1 Strabo's Pamphylia

The region of Pamphylia and its inhabitants are frequently mentioned in Strabo's *Geography*: in the second book, devoted to a general overview of territories and their geographical boundaries, Pamphylia appears in the description of the Anatolian Peninsula, which is named *Asia*, as the continent (*Geogr.* 2.5.24), and Pamphylians figure as the last population living beyond the Taurus mountains (*Geogr.* 2.5.32; see also 11.12.2). In *Geogr.* 13.3.27, commenting on Homer's geography, Strabo listed a number of names that are not found in the Homeric poems. Among these, Pamphylians appear, along with Milyans, Pisid-

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1 Tyrtaeus (fragm. 19) mentions Pamphylians as one of the Dorian tribes together with Hylleis and Dymanes. In Aeschylus (*Suppl.* 548–555) the chorus briefly introduces the land of Asia, mentioning the regions of Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, Cilicia, and Pamphylia.

2 Herodotus 1.29.1 (people under Croesus's control); 3.90.2 (Pamphylians together with Ionians, Magnetans of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, and Milyans formed the first administrative provinces or satrapies created by Darius, to whom they owed 400 silver talents); 5.68.13 (Pamphylian as the original name of one of the three Dorian tribes, cf. Tyrtaeus); 7.91.7, 9 (Pamphylians are said to provide the Persians with 30 ships and carry Greek weapons; moreover, they are defined as the descendants of those Trojans who were wrecked with Amphilocus and Calchas); 8.68.32 (in the speech directed to Mardonius pronounced by Artemisia, the commander of the Carian navy allied with the Achaemenid Empire against the Greeks, Pamphylians are said to be *bad servants* together with Aegyptians, Cyprians, and Cilicians).

3 *Bibliotheca Historica* 2.2.3.3–4; 11.2.1.8; 18.3.1.9 *passim*.

4 *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 27.16.

ians, Mariandynians, and Cappadocians. Strabo will return to this issue at the end of Book 14 (see below).

Pamphylians are then present in a different passage of Book 14, which continues and closes the description of the Asia Minor started in Book 13. In a passage concerning the Lycian city of Daedale (*Geogr.* 14.3.2.) it is said that the Pamphylians, along with the Cilicians, used to practicing piracy; that the Cilicians auctioned off prisoners, pretending they were free men, in their own shipyards located in the Pamphylian city of Side; finally, that Pamphylians by their dishonest conduct had extended their control even as far as Italy. In contrast, the Lycians, who could have followed the example of their neighbors, always played by the rules. Then, the account of Herodotus (7.91) is reported, according to whom the Pamphylians were the descendants of that *miscellaneous throng* (λαῶν μιγάδων τινῶν, Strabo 14.3; translation Jones, Loeb 1929) who accompanied Amphilocus and Calchas from Troy. Then, guided by Mopsus, all these peoples crossed the Taurus, some remained in Pamphylia, while some others moved to Cilicia, Syria, and even Phoenicia.

For our purposes, the detail concerning this possible *mixedness* of the Pamphylians should be emphasized in order to check how much the etymology of the people's name (πάμ-φυλος 'of every race') may have prompted the choice of the word μιγάδες 'mixed.' In fact, etymologically, the name of the people is quite similar to the adjective πάμφυλος found in Plato (*Pol.* 291a), Aristophanes (*Av.* 1063), and the Bible (*Macc.* 2.8.9) with the meaning of 'of mingled tribes or races,' LSJ, s.v. πάμ-φυλος, ον, (φυλή, φῦλον). However, it would appear that this etymological connection is not accepted by Strabo, according to whom the Pamphylians were not a mixed people and also because, in his view, a people could be either Greek or barbarian, but not a mix of the two (see below, on Strabo 16.5.25).[5]

Regarding the etymology, Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Παμφυλία, *Ethn.* 16.9) reports that the Pamphylians took their name from Pamphylē, a daughter of Rhacius and the seer Mantio (and a sister of Mopsus). By contrast, a scholium in Dionysius Periegetes (850.5) describes Mopsus as having defeated Calchas

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5 TH.LG, vol. 6a s.v., reports two separate entries. The first is Pamphylia as *omnes genus populorum* in a testimony of Simmachus Ebionite (second century CE) in reference to *Gen.* 14.1. The second, much more extensive entry, describes Pamphylia as a region of Asia Minor collecting its main sources. The structure of the lexicon, in two separate entries, suggests a homonymy that does not in fact provide for an etymological connection between the region of Pamphylia and the idea that it is composed of all peoples. However, as noted by Brixhe (1976:145) according to an oracle of Suedra (Cilicia Trachea), it is not impossible that Pamphylians themselves referred to this kind of connection.

and having reached Cilicia, where he married Pamphylē, daughter of Cabderus, and became king of the region. He then named it Pamphylia after his wife.[6]

Finally, it is worth giving attention to a long passage toward the end of the book (*Geogr.* 14.5.22–29), in which Strabo claims to add some further remarks about the peoples of Asia Minor. In particular, the ancient geographer criticizes the false claim of Apollodorus of Athens in his work on the *Catalog of Ships* that the Anatolian Peninsula was in the shape of a triangle, nullifying the considerable distance between Sinope (or Amissos, according to other authors, Strabo points out) and Issos, which constitute the ends of the isthmus (§ 22). In § 23, Strabo quotes Ephorus of Cyme, who counts 16 peoples (to which Apollodorus then added the Galatians) in the Anatolian Peninsula, except the mixed ones, including three (unspecified) Greeks and 13 barbarians: these include the Pamphylians.

> But though Ephorus said that this peninsula was inhabited by sixteen tribes, of which three were Hellenic and the rest barbarian, except those that were mixed, adding that the Cilicians, Pamphylians, Lycians, Bithynians, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, Trojans, and Carians lived on the sea, but the Pisidians, Mysians, Chalybians, Phrygians, and Milyans in the interior, [...].[7] (Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.5.23, 1–8)

Strabo first wonders which were the mixed peoples (οἱ μιγάδες, § 25) and then which were the Greek peoples (§ 26). In the two passages, it is interesting to observe a series of comments related to cultural and linguistic aspects: Strabo states that, in fact, mixed peoples do not exist, but rather that a people either is Greek or ceases to be Greek, becoming a barbarian people—or the opposite can happen, in the sense that, in case of mixing, the preponderant part makes a people either Greek or barbarian. Regarding the Greek peoples, Strabo finds it difficult to divide them into three tribes, because he counts either two, if Athenians and Ionians (on one side) are paired with Dorians and Aeolians (on the other side), or four, if they are kept separate (cf. 8.1.2)

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6 The passage in Strabo 14.5.7 mentions part of the military expeditions of (Publius Servilius Vatia) Isauricus, proconsul of Cilicia, who after conquering the cities of Pamphylia proceeded beyond the Taurus, conquering the capital of the Isaurians and thus winning the *agnomen* of Isauricus.

7 Φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἐφόρου διότι τὴν χερρόνησον κατοικεῖ ταύτην ἑκκαίδεκα γένη, τρία μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ βάρβαρα χωρὶς τῶν μιγάδων, ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ μὲν Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Παφλαγόνες καὶ Μαριανδυνοὶ καὶ Τρῶες καὶ Κᾶρες, Πισίδαι δὲ καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Χάλυβες καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Μιλύαι ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ [...].

Then, returning to questions of Homeric exegesis (§ 27), Strabo again reports Apollodorus's view that the peoples that Homer does not mention either were not yet settled in Anatolia at the time of the Trojan War or were under the rule of others (cf. above). Finally (§ 28), Strabo points out that Homer mentions some peoples who are completely unknown in his time, such as Cauconias, Solymi, Ceteians, and Leleges. Obviously, this kind of ancient reading implicitly assumes that the Homeric text represents the historical era coeval with the Trojan War.

2.1.2 Ancient Sources on the Pamphylian Language

Beside commenting on the Pamphylian people, the ancient sources also discuss the Pamphylian language. The *Etymologicum Magnum* (EM 391.16–21) reports an interesting phonetic-phonological observation: Argives, Lacones (Spartans), Pamphylians, Eretres (in Euboea), and Oropians (between Attica and Boeotia) do not pronounce the intervocalic /s/, but instead replace it with an aspiration so that, for example, μουσικά [muzi'ka] becomes μωϊκά [mōhi'ka].[8] This latter form may indeed correspond to a gloss, but we cannot be certain. Surely it is an example of the phenomenon described. This ancient observation cannot be corroborated by any known features of Pamphylian, but it may be worth noting that other cases of consonantal weakening are instead attested, such as the weakening and deletion of the voiced velar /g/, e.g., Μιάλης < Μεγάλης; Μιάλιτους < Μεγάλιτους (see, e.g., Panayotou 2015:429).

Eustathius of Thessalonika, commenting on Homer, provided another characteristic feature of the Pamphylian language: it would be the insertion of a beta in the pronunciation of some words, and the shift in accent, e.g., φάος → φάβος, ἀέλιος → βάβελιος, ὀρούω → ὀρουβῶ (Bezzenberger *apud* Ramsay and Sayce 1880, also quoted by Brixhe 1976a:142). However, we must guess that for Eustathius, who lived in the 12th century CE, the use of beta was a graphic device to mark something else and likely an approximant [w], being evidence of the phenomenon known as *betacism*. This is confirmed by the etymology: βάβελιος, perhaps to be corrected in ἀβέλιος and thus compared with the Hesychian gloss ἀβελιακόν (α 104), which is derived from the PIE stem *seh_2u-el-

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8 Cassio (2016:19) confirms this feature for Laconic, Argolic, Elean, and Cypriot, affirming that "il mutamento si è realizzato indipendentemente nei vari dialetti e ad epoche diverse (a Sparta è antico, a Creta e Cipro recente), e dato che era in genere percepito come un tratto 'provinciale' le iscrizioni oscillano molto tra forme con Σ e forme con ⟨H⟩ = [h]" [the mutation occurred independently in the different dialects in different ages (earlier in Sparta, later in Crete and Cyprus], and since it was generally perceived as a 'provincial' feature forms with Σ and forms with H alternate largely in the inscriptions].

'sun.' As Brixhe (1976:47) points out, with many examples, that the outcome of Proto-Greek */w/ was always maintained in Pamphylian ("Sans préjuger de son articulation […] nous devons constater que l'héritier du */w/ protogrec constitue un phonème vivant en pamphylien jusqu'à la disparition du dialecte"). As for the accent, this may be related with the hypothesis that Pamphylian developed an intensive accent (see Brixhe 1976a:146).

It is sometimes claimed that the ancients considered Pamphylian a barbarian language from this passage from Arrian (*Anab.* 1.26.4) according to which the language spoken in Side is a βαρβαρικὰ φωνή, 'a foreign language.' However, the comment concerns Sidetic rather than Pamphylian. It is also true that Side is located in Pamphylia and that Hesychius reports possible glosses in reference not only to Pamphylia in general but also to individual cities, such as words used by Περγαῖοι, that is, the inhabitants of Perge (e.g., αἰβετός, α 1676; ἄκρυμα, α 7290; βουρικυπάρισσος, β 963; κόρκορα, κ 3636). Nevertheless, in the case of Arrian's commentary, as Rizza (2018) explains, it seems correct to assume that the φωνή of Side is precisely Sidetic, the Anatolian language known to us (see Section 3 below).

In general, apart from the few observations above and some sporadic glosses by Hesychius (see below), we have no explicit information from the ancient scholars on the classification of the language spoken by the Pamphylians, even though different positions were taken regarding their geographical and historical origins, which may certainly have contributed to the lack of definite knowledge.

2.1.3 Pamphylian as a Marginal Greek Dialect

Turning now to modern scholarship, although researchers often treat Pamphylian as not fully classified (i.e., not traceable to a Greek dialect subgroup; e.g., Colvin 2010:203), all emphasize that it is a Greek variety, that, due to historical and sociolinguistic events, came to assume a marginal position among the Greek dialects.

Previously it was considered as part of the Achaean group, together with Arcadian and Cypriot. Filos (2014 s.v. Pamphylian) stated that "it may be more accurate though, to describe Pamphylian as the language of the Greek colonies of Pamphylia, particularly Aspendos, Perge, Syllion and Side. In fact, Pamphylian was a rather idiosyncratic, non-standard linguistic variety of Greek spoken for the largest part of the first millennium BCE in the central southern coastal area of Pamphylia in Asia Minor […]."

Since 1976a, Brixhe emphasized the specificity of Pamphylian as a marginal Greek variety that, on the one hand, was influenced by the surrounding Anatolian languages but, on the other hand, was capable of innovating indepen-

dently from the other Greek dialects, in some cases introducing phenomena that would later be typical of the *koiné*, such as the reduction of /ĭŏ/ > /ī/, the neutralization of the opposition /nd/ : /nt/, or the spirantization of intervocalic plosives. In general, in line with Brixhe (1976a:150), we will not attempt a clear-cut dialectal classification of Pamphylian, because this does not appear necessary in order to provide a description of its main linguistic feature and of the available corpus.

2.2   *Sources and Studies*

2.2.1   Inscriptions and Coin Legends

The corpus of inscriptions has been edited over the years by Brixhe, beginning with his doctoral thesis, published in 1976a, often referred to as DGP (*Dialecte grec de Pamphylie*). This first work was followed by six supplements that appeared in journals, either authored by Brixhe alone or produced in collaboration with other scholars, bringing the current total of inscriptions to 289, all dating between the 5th century BCE and the second century CE.[9]

The epichoric writing system is a Greek alphabet with some peculiarities: the lack of graphemes indicating long vowels, the sign ⟨Y⟩ marking [u] instead of [y] (a feature also present in the Ionic and Attic systems), two special graphemes, namely ⟨Ψ⟩ for /ts/, later /ss/ or /s/; and ⟨И⟩ (Pamphylian digamma, also found in Carian) for the semivowel /w/, which is also marked by the usual Greek digamma Ϝ, from the 3rd–2nd centuries BCE ⟨B⟩ and ⟨Φ⟩.[10]

2.2.2   Pamphylian Glosses

Besides coins and epigraphs, some putative Pamphylian materials mentioned in the ancient scholarly tradition come from lexicographic sources. Schmidt (1868) collected nine Pamphylian words within the Hesychian text, considering only the cases in which Παμφύλιοι or Παμφύλια were explicitly mentioned. Sayce, in the final section of Ramsay and Sayce (1880), quotes the more extensive collection of glosses made by Bezzenberger (1880), which also includes Hesychian references to single cities (as Side, Perge, Aspendos) together with some of the EM's occurrences and a testimony from Eustathius. This list of

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9   The supplements are the following: Brixhe (1976b, 1988a, 1991, 1996); Brixhe and Tekoğlu (2000); and Brixhe et al. (2007). See also Brixhe (2012). The full corpus of inscriptions, based on DGP (Brixhe 1976a) and supplements but nonetheless very useful for a comprehensive overview, is collected in Appendix 5 of Bianconi (2019). We thank Michele Bianconi for sharing his unpublished writings. Since then, Tekoğlu and Kose (2022) has also appeared.

10   For more on the alphabet, see Filos (2014, with references).

about 30 words, completed by the glosses detected by Metri (1954), is presented in Brixhe (1976a:141–143). The glosses, in addition to reporting lexemes peculiar to the Pamphylian dialect that are not usual in other dialects, especially in the Attic-Ionic "standard," adds phonetic information, such as ἀδρί for ἀνδρί (Hesychius α 1200) or the already mentioned ἀβελιακόν (Hesychius α 104).

2.2.3   Research and Studies

As for Pamphylian as a Greek dialect, Ramsay and Sayce (1880) and Meillet (1908) were among the first scholars to attempt a description of this language. Overall grammatical sketches are also found in general volumes devoted to Greek.[11] The common denominator of these descriptions is the definition of Pamphylian as a peculiar, sometimes aberrant, isolated, idiosyncratic dialect of Greek, perhaps (in accordance with part of the ancient tradition) imported in Asia Minor by some Doric tribes, or in successive waves by different dialect-speaking communities, in order to justify the combination of different features.

Brixhe's many years of research (1976a with all following supplements) have provided unsurpassed reference works for the detailed description of the corpus as a whole, the overall perspective on the available materials and open problems, and the depth of analysis.[12] His writings have proven to be extremely important not only for knowledge of the Pamphylian corpus in its textual component, but also for possible links with surrounding languages. Therefore, in this chapter we shall be leaving aside the isoglosses shared by Pamphylian and other Greek dialects (all can be found in the aforementioned references) to focus on aspects of possible linguistic contact with Anatolian languages. In the case of Pamphylian, we will need to take into consideration, on the one hand, a possible Lycian interference, and on the other hand the possible adstrate influence primarily exerted by Sidetic.

In fact, some works are devoted to single aspects of possible interferences (e.g., Dardano 2006 on the Pamphylian vocalism, describing possible connection with Lycian, and Dardano 2007 on the peculiarity of this dialect of using the vowel /a/ as a connecting element in compounds found in onomastics, which is explained as a case of interference of the Luwic substrate). Such investigations, although focused on particular aspects, offer materials that contribute to the overall analysis of language interference in the Aegean–Anatolian area.

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[11]   Some of the reference work include Buck 1955; Colvin 2007; Filos 2014; Panayotou 2014; and Cassio 2016, all provided with further bibliography.

[12]   See Neumann (1980). Cf. Doria (1979), who emphasized some points of detail in terms of phonology.

More recently, Skelton (2017) addressed an overview structured according to different levels of linguistic descriptions. In particular, typological approaches and models of language contact are applied to the studies of ancient languages, together with tentative comparisons with today's linguistic contexts (for Pamphylian the tentative comparison with Singlish, the variety of English spoken in Singapore).

2.3 *Anatolian Influences in Pamphylian*
2.3.1 Phonological Data
As first pointed out by Brixhe (1976a:146), some linguistic features of the Pamphylian Greek dialect can be traced back to an Anatolian influence. These features essentially belong to the phonological level and are summarized in the following traits: hints of intensive accent, frequency of aphaeresis and metathesis, persistence of glide after /u/ and /i/ (both long and short) in hiatus, neutralization of final /ŏ/ : /ŭ/, weakening of final nasal (with possible emerging of nasalized vowels), conditioned weakening of voiced initial and intervocalic /g/, and the rhotacism of /d/.

Building on these observations and selecting some of the traits identified by Brixhe, Skelton (2017) firmly asserts the influence of Anatolian—in fact, Lycian—on Pamphylian, going so far as to claim that:

> structural influence from Anatolian on the phonology of Pamphylian was so extensive that the consonant inventory of Pamphylian appears less Greek than Anatolian, with the loss of distinctions in voicing and aspiration, the development of voiceless and voiced fricatives, and the retention of /w/ and the introduction of /j/ as a phonemic glide. There is also influence on the vowel system, with the introduction of syllabic consonants and nasalized vowels, and possibly the reduction of the number of instances of /o/ and heterosyllabic sequences of vowels." (Skelton 2017:114)

Independently, Bianconi (2019:335–363), after listing the traits identified by Brixhe (1976a), reorganizes the topics, selecting five case studies, namely: a) lowering of the open-mid front unrounded vowel, b) aphaeresis, c) rhotacism, d) weakening of voiced velar, and e) linking vowels in compounds. The literature on the topic is examined for each of these traits, describing linguistic facts and potential theoretical explanations.

As for the first point, the research of Dardano (2006, 2007) is considered, according to which a correspondence is found, on one hand, between Lycian ⟨e⟩ and Greek ⟨α⟩ (e.g., Lycian *Purihimetehe* : Greek Πυριματιος (bilingual

TL 6:1–2); Lycian *Pubieleje* : Greek Πυβιαληι (bilingual TL 117:4–5)) and, on the other hand, between Lycian ⟨a⟩ and various Greek vowels, namely Greek ⟨α⟩, ⟨ε⟩, ⟨η⟩, in the Lycian transcriptions of Greek names (e.g., Lycian *Xelijañanaxssah* (TL 116:2) : Greek Καλλιάναξ; Lycian *Alaxssa[ñ]tra* (TL 29:9) : Greek Ἀλέξανδρος; Lycian *Milasãñtra* (TL 44a:45) : Greek Μελήσανδρος). Bianconi (2019:339), although considering Dardano's arguments in favor of a Lycian influence entirely plausible, advances the hypothesis of a possible influence by a late form of Luwian.

The aphaeresis, basically of the initial ⟨α⟩ shown by Pamphylian proper names in comparison with their correspondents in the rest of Greek dialect, has been identified as a characteristic trait of Pamphylian on the basis of a majority criterion, given the fluctuation (even in the same inscription, e.g., Φορδίσις Ἀφροδισίυ, no. 20)[13] of forms with and without this phenomenon, the latter being in any case a minority. The conclusions reached by Bianconi (2019:342), in the wake of Brixhe and Dardano, are those of a trait that is indeed the result of linguistic contact. The inconsistency of the evidence, whereby the phenomenon is limited to some nouns (and not in all their occurrences), may suggest a situation of bilingualism that results in the presence of proper names in both *standard* Greek and *interfered epichoric* forms.

The issue of the rhotacism of /d/ in intervocalic contexts is more complex: as in the previous case, Pamphylian inscriptions show both rhotacism (e.g., Φιραραυ < *Φηράδαυ, no. 99, 113; Ἐπιτιμιραυ < *Ἐπιτιμίδαυ, no. 125), and the retention of intervocalic /d/ (e.g., Λεωνιδας, no. 25; Θαναδωρυς, no. 26). Again, this may be a contact phenomenon because it is also found in other Anatolian languages— although, in fact, it is not attested in Lycian, the language generally regarded in terms of substrate.[14] The category of *flap* has been invoked (Rieken and Yakubovich 2010) assuming that such a rhotacism should instead be understood as a change into an alveolar flap [ɾ]. Sasseville (2021), reconsidering the phenomenon in the Anatolian languages, finds it also in Lydian and proposes that it may be an areal trait typical of the first millennium BCE. The idea that the same phenomenon may have affected Pamphylian as well, advanced by Bianconi (2019:352), appears convincing both from a linguistic perspective and in the terms of a geo-historical identification of the area of convergence.

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13 This inscription is doubly interesting because the first form is affected by both apheresis and metathesis, which may suggest the presence of liquid syllabic (or sonorant) consonants, as in Lycian (but also projectable in Proto-Indo-European). On the problem of syllabic liquid in Greek and on Pamphylian data, see now the discussion by Van Beek (2021:137–139).

14 In Merlin and Pisaniello (2020), the correspondence between Lyc. *Pinale* and Gr. Πίναρα is discussed, showing possible answers to this unexpected equivalence.

Regarding the weakening of the intervocalic voiced velar, Brixhe (1976a:88) states that this is a common phenomenon that does not require an explanation by language contact. Bianconi (2019:358), on the other hand, observes that the two aspects are not mutually exclusive: language contact (as in the case of the definite article; see below) may trigger or counter internal linguistic change, accelerating or conversely blocking its development. The idea that the weakening of Pamphylian velars was induced by the influence of Anatolian languages has been discussed since the 1960s, with a pioneering study by Szemerényi (1968) and a series of objections by Wallace (1983), which Bianconi (2019) duly discusses. Although Bianconi's work much better characterized the contexts conditioning the weakening in the different languages that exhibit it, the one issue left unresolved appears to be the chronology of the change. As already discussed in Volume 1 (Chapter 15, Section 3), the loss of these stops in Luwian is conditioned by phonemic voice, which, in turn, was certainly annihilated by the time Pamphylian Greeks would have entered into contact with Luwic speakers (Federico Giusfredi, *personal communication*). Therefore, there is no reason to assume that a change occurring more than one thousand years before would have affected the phonotactics of languages at a synchronic level. If anything, we may expect initial /g/ to be devoiced, but not dropped. Thus, this hypothesis appears to be weaker than the others.

The last phenomenon that is usually attributed to contact with the Anatolian languages is the presence of a linking vowel ⟨α⟩ instead of ⟨o⟩ in compound proper names, as the final vowel of the first component. A list of examples is offered by Bianconi (2019:359–363), whose analysis generally—if with due caution—tends to confirm the conclusions by Dardano (2007), who successfully compared forms like Πελαδώρου for Ἀπολλόδωρος (no. 59, with several related forms), or Ἐλλαφίλου for Ἐλλόφιλος (no. 134), to names attested in the cuneiform Hittite corpus such as Mizra-muwa or Mitanna-muwa, which also exhibit an /a/ vowel that replaces the theme of the first part of the name. All in all, in this case, Dardano's hypothesis, cautiously but successfully supported by the follow-up analysis by Bianconi, appears linguistically and areally convincing.

2.3.2 Morphology and Syntax

Turning to the morphological and syntactic levels, first of all, it is easy to observe that very little can be said about the morpho-syntax of Pamphylian because the texts available to us are very short (a couple of lines) and, because they are funerary inscriptions, often limited to a list of names. Only two texts are of a significant length, but these are damaged and difficult to interpret.

It can be said that nominal and verbal inflection are mostly in line with that of other Greek dialects; however, according to Skelton (2017:115–116), there are two notable exceptions. The first is the ending -τι instead of -σι, which is not only common to West Greek but should also be connected with Lycian.[15] The second is the third-person imperative active -δυ, seemingly corresponding to the Lycian -*tu* and -(˜)*tu*.

As far as syntax is concerned, Skelton (2017:115–117) highlights three traits that, from her perspective, fall within the phenomena of interference: 1) the lack of the article (except for ὑ βōλέμενυς, nos. 3 and 13, considered as a loan of legal formula); 2) the use of the dative instead of the genitive after prepositions with an *ablative* value; and 3) the construction και νι with the imperative with the meaning of negative imperative. These examples would find confirmation in situations of language contact nowadays, in terms of substrate lending grammar to the superstrate, which means that the Pamphylians should, in this case, be Anatolian-speakers who have imperfectly learned Greek. Because we dare not speculate as to the composition of a population based on indirect sociolinguistic hints, we will limit ourselves to examining the three hypotheses from a linguistic point of view.

If the aberrant use of dative and the phrase και νι with the imperative appear at least possible, the case of the alleged lack of the definite article warrants some caution. First, the absence of the definite article may simply depend on the geographical marginality of Pamphylian: because we do not know for sure how old the dialect was, it is impossible to exclude the possibility that it separated from Greek before the full grammaticalization of demonstratives into articles (consider, as a comparandum, the very different typology of articulation in peripheral languages like Romanian and Sardinian, which postpone clitic definite articles, as opposed to all other languages derived from Latin, which prepose them). The idea that the quasi-absence of articles was, indeed, an archaism, is defended also by Brixhe (2000). If, however, these typological considerations appear too speculative, it is the very epigraphic corpus that presents a major problem. Indeed, in the funerary inscriptions of virtually all regions of Greece, there is a strong tendency to omit the definite article (cf. Chapter 15, Section 3, for discussion and references).

2.3.1   Onomastic Data

Finally, as regards the lexical level, it is important to emphasize that most of the material is given by onomastics, whose analysis follows rules different from

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15   However, this feature could also be described as an archaism in Greek.

those employed for common vocabulary. As shown above, onomastic material can be studied with reference to the phonological and morphological aspects. The phono-morphological level can be analyzed by comparing it with other forms, both in terms of model and replication, assuming the possibility of interference (if the pattern is Anatolian, what is the replicated form in Pamphylian?) and in terms of variation from other dialects (how does the same form occur in the other Greek dialects?).

A more classical approach, however, consists in the mere classification of onomastic material according to the language of origin. Dedicated studies that examined the corpus of personal names from Pamphylia in this perspective are Brixhe (1976a:146–147), Dardano (2012), and Skelton (2017:110).[16] Although the forms considered are not all those that have been attested, the general tendency indicates a majority of Greek names, a large minority of Anatolian ones, and only a few that go back to different origins (including Semitic). Now, although there is certainly some value to this approach, one should always remember that the language of origin of the name a person bears is often unrelated to the cultural and linguistic profile of that person. The only thing that we can safely assess, based on this picture, is the general profile of the Pamphylian onomastic culture, which is mixed and has two unsurprising main components: Greek and Anatolian.

2.3.2   Theoretical Discussion

In the previous section, dedicated to data analysis, some theoretical and methodological observations found in the studies or proposed in this brief overview have been already made. Such comments will be collected once again here, in an attempt to provide a more general picture.

First of all, the importance of Pamphylian for the study of linguistic contact in ancient societies could hardly be overstated. It is a Greek dialect, but it has remained isolated from the motherland and, at the same time, it was in contact with Anatolian languages that we know.

When dealing with specific contact-induced features, three potential scenarios appear to emerge:

1)   A given feature is an inherited one, common to both Anatolian and Greek dialects, which has been preserved in Pamphylian as an archaism, based on the isolation and the separation of Pamphylian in the early stages of

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16   Dardano (2012) is by far the most extensive and detailed work, which collects the largest corpus of onomastic materials as well as a sound theoretical discussion.

inner-Greek development or language change, which involves, by contrast, other Greek dialects. This may be a way to read the near absence of the definite article, assuming the possibility that language contact *prevents* the process of grammaticalization (demonstrative > article) in such a dialect.

2) A feature has a diachronic areal diffusion. This could explain Pamphylian rhotacism and other substrate phenomena.

3) A given feature has a contact-based synchronic explanation: Pamphylian converges in some features with surrounding Anatolian languages in the same span of time, as in the case of adstrate phenomena (e.g., the verbal endings discussed above).

For each feature, one explanation may be more plausible than another, with the understanding that the nature of the evidence does not allow us to attempt a truly comprehensive analysis of the language system. However, it is important to emphasize that inheritance, inner development, and contact are not mutually exclusive, although a solution combining these phenomena may complicate the picture.

2.4 *A Final Remark*

In sum, although Pamphylia is an extremely important example of a multilingual area from the ancient world, viable avenues toward firm conclusions remain limited. Linguistically, we have a modest knowledge of the Anatolian languages with which it was in contact, and historically speaking, the perception of the non-Greek element as barbarian in the classical sources imposes serious caution when working with the information coming from ancient historians and geographers.

Modern interpretations also tend to diverge. Some authors have argued that Pamphylian is more Anatolian than Greek (Skelton 2017), and others maintain that the language's internal archaisms should be emphasized without resorting to language contact (López Eire and Lillo Alcaraz 1982). Some see it as an anticipatory variety of the *koiné* (Filos 2014), whereas others, perhaps more wisely, balance these positions by considering linguistic features on a case-by-case basis (Bianconi 2019).

3 Sidetic

From the city of Side in Pamphylia comes a small corpus of epigraphs written in a peculiar local alphabetic script that attests a language most probably belonging to the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European family (seemingly close to

Lycian),[17] which has been given the name of *Sidetic* based on the findspot of the inscriptions.

The writing system used for Sidetic inscriptions is unique, different from any other alphabet found in first-millennium Anatolia (whether Greek, epichoric, or Semitic), and it remains a matter of debate between those who argue for a Greek origin and those who posit a Semitic one.[18] Its uniqueness was also probably acknowledged in ancient times, as emerges from the following well-known passage of Arrian (*Anab.* 1.26.4), in which, as shown by Rizza (2018), the φωνή of Side is best explained as referring to the visible language, to the language in its written form:[19]

> Alexander then reached Side. Sidetans are Cumaeans from Cumae in Aeolis; and they tell this account about themselves, that, as the first envoys from Cyme landed in that country and disembarked for the foundation, they soon forgot the Greek language and immediately spoke a barbarian language, not however that of the neighboring barbarians, but a language peculiar to themselves, which had never existed before: since then the Sidetans *barbarized* in a different way from the other neighbours.[20]

The Sidetic script was deciphered by Bossert in 1950 (with later adjustments),[21] but the language is still poorly known due to the limited extent of the corpus. Indeed, direct Sidetic sources include ten inscriptions (mostly very short coin legends) as well as some documents whose Sidetic status is not assured;[22] to

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17   See Pérez-Orozco (2007:125).

18   See, e.g., Brixhe 1969 (Semitic origin, perhaps with Greek intermediation), Neumann 1978 (from a cursive Greek script); Carruba 1992; Pérez-Orozco 2005, 2007 (basically an Aramaic-derived alphabet with some Greek influences).

19   See also Brixhe 2018:170–171.

20   Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ Σίδης ἤει. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σιδῆται Κυμαῖοι ἐκ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος· καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσιν ὑπὲρ σφῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὅτι, ὡς κατῆράν τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην οἱ πρῶτοι ἐκ Κύμης σταλέντες καὶ ἐπὶ οἰκισμῷ ἐξέβησαν, αὐτίκα τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐξελάθοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ βάρβαρον φωνὴν ἵεσαν, οὐδὲ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίαν σφῶν οὔπω πρόσθεν οὖσαν τὴν φωνήν· καὶ ἔκτοτε οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους προσχώρους Σιδῆται ἐβαρβάριζον.

21   See, e.g., Neumann 1968, 1978; Brixhe 1969; Ševoroškin 1975; Pérez-Orozco 2003; Schürr 2016b; Pérez-Orozco 2020; Zinko and Zinko 2020; and Simon 2021c. An overview of the different transliteration conventions with further references can be found in Rizza 2016.

22   The corpus is collected in Nollé 2001; the coins are included in Atlan 1968. See also Rizza 2005; Pérez-Orozco 2007; Zinko and Zinko 2016, 2020; and Rizza 2021. Alfredo Rizza (*personal communication*) informed us that "from 2020 the Side archaeological mission of the Eskişehir Anadolu University, directed by Prof. Dr. Feriştah Alanyalı, has uncovered some new Sidetic evidence, of particular note a monolingual stele of about twenty lines,

these one could add personal and place names only indirectly attested in Greek and Roman sources. Sidetic inscriptions are dated to the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE; afterwards, only inscriptions in Greek are found.

As far as the issue of language contact is concerned, one should first mention that, among the small Sidetic corpus, a subcorpus of Greek–Sidetic bilingual inscriptions can be found, comprising only three documents, the so-called *Artemon* and *Apollonios inscriptions*, and the bilingual of Seleucia-Lyrbe.[23] Unfortunately, such inscriptions are quite short and consist mostly of personal names, which also are the only clear elements found in these texts.[24]

The *Artemon inscription* is engraved on a small altar. The Greek version,[25] preceding the Sidetic one, lacks the first line, so that one can read only the personal name Ἀρτέμων, a patronymic for which different readings have been suggested, but currently read as Ἀθηνόβιος,[26] and, finally, χαριστήρια 'thank-offerings.' The Sidetic version is less clear, except for the two personal names corresponding to those occurring in the Greek version (*artmon ϑanpijś*). All the rest is quite obscure, and various hypotheses have been suggested concerning the possibility of identifying in the Sidetic text either the name of a deity (or deities) to whom the inscription was dedicated, or something matching Greek χαριστήρια, or perhaps some verbal form.[27]

In the *Apollonios inscription*, the Sidetic text, consisting of only a single incomplete line, precedes the Greek text, which is a full dedication of four lines that also includes the signature of the engraver. The Greek texts says: "Apollonios, (son) of Apollodoros, (son) of Apollonios, set up this image of himself to all the gods. Mnaseas, (son) of Artemon, Sidetan, made (it)."[28] The Sidetic text is less informative: we surely recognize the personal name of the dedicator and the onomastic formula (*polonij pordorś polonijaś*), followed by *masara*, plausibly to be connected with Luw. *māššana/i-* and Lyc. *mahana-* 'god'

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a long stele with a list of personal names, and a pair of 'election' cards. The Anadolu University team with colleagues from the University of Graz are studying the materials, and the publication of the documents has been entrusted to Michaela and Christian Zinko (Graz), with the collaboration of Alfredo Rizza (Verona). Notwithstanding the substantial untranslatability of the monolingual document, thanks to the recognition of some Greek lexical borrowings we were able to assume that the document carries a decree for the celebration of benefactors of the city."

23 See, e.g., Adiego 2014:244–248.

24 On Sidetic personal names, see also Zinko 2016.

25 Published in Nollé 1993 no. 19.

26 See Rizza 2019 for the history of this reading. Cf. also Rizza 2021:582–584.

27 See Rizza 2019 for an updated edition including all previous suggestions.

28 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀνέθηκεν [εἰ]κόνα τήνδ' ἑαυτοῦ θεοῖς πᾶσι. [Μ]νασέας Ἀρτέμωνος Σιδήτης ἐπο[ί]ησε.

and thus matching Gr. θεοῖς. The last word in the Sidetic text—unfortunately fragmentary—reads ↑*ue*[…, which has been explained as representing either the Sidetic cognate of Luw. *tūwa*- and Lyc. *tuwe*- 'put, place,' matching Gr. ἀνέ-θηκεν, or the Sidetic cognate of Lyc. *huwedri*- 'all' (< *suwedri, cf. Luw. *šuwatar* 'fullness'), thus matching Gr. πᾶσι.[29]

The last bilingual inscription, the bilingual of Seleucia-Lyrbe, poses more difficulties in reading, but has recently received a new interpretation.[30] The Greek text includes only the name of the dedicator (Εὐέμπολος) with his patronymic (Σίδιδος) and an ethnic designation (Τυμεριζεύς, allegedly from *Tymerissos, which would be, according to the editors, a variant of the city of Tyberissos, in Lycia), followed by the verb ἀνέθηκεν. The Sidetic version, if it has been read correctly, includes only the first three elements found in the Greek version, *eumpol sδits timenezas*, without the verb. Given the form of the ethnic in the latter text, one could suggest an identification with the Lycian city of Tymnessos rather than Tyberissos, but the Greek form appears not to fit with such a reading. Unfortunately, because the inscription is currently missing, it is impossible to check it.[31]

As a general remark, in these bilingual inscriptions, the Sidetic versions (although sometimes unclear) appear to be secondary to the Greek versions: in two of the inscriptions, the Greek text precedes the Sidetic text, and when the Greek follows the Sidetic (as in the *Apollonios inscription*), it is longer and more informative than the Sidetic version. However, a comprehensive evaluation of the relationships between the Greek and Sidetic versions is currently hampered by our poor knowledge of the Sidetic language.

In addition to bilingual inscriptions, some relevant data for language contact are provided by onomastics and a very limited number of loanwords. As stated by Pérez-Orozco (2007:126), Sidetic inscriptions include "una mezcla de nombres griegos y anatolios, casi a partes iguales," which show some quite regular phenomena of adaptation; for example, Sidetic adaptations of original Greek names starting with a vowel consistently undergo aphaeresis, cf. Ἀθηνόβιος > *ϑanpijś* (gen.adj.); Ἀπολλώνιος > *polonij*; Ἀπολλόδωρος > *pordorś* (gen.adj.). It is possible that some phenomena of adaptation could be explained through Pamphylian intermediation, because Greek names occurring in Sidetic inscriptions somewhat match the form they display in Pamphylian, whereas those occurring in the Greek versions of bilingual inscriptions match the koinè forms.[32]

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29   See Nikolaev 2017, with previous references.
30   Magnelli and Petrantoni 2020.
31   See Rizza 2021:577.
32   See Pérez-Orozco 2007:126.

In particular, the aforementioned aphaeresis is a feature shared by the Pamphylian and Sidetic renderings of Greek personal names. However, the Sidetic forms do not perfectly match the Pamphylian ones, which may thereby guarantee their Sidetic status and rule out the possibility that they were instead Pamphylian forms in Sidetic texts. Compare, e.g., Sid. *polonij* vs. Pamph. Πελόνιιυς (= Ἀπολλώνιος) and Sid. *pordor* vs. Pamph. Πελάδωρυς (= Ἀπολλόδωρος). Furthermore, aphaeresis is a rather common phenomenon (for example, it also occurred in Luwian and Lycian adaptations of foreign names), so we cannot be certain that its occurrence in Sidetic adaptations of Greek personal names should be regarded as a Pamphylian interference phenomenon. One should note that it does not occur in the Greek loanword *anaϑemat-* (see below), although the phonetic context is different, and, more generally, Sidetic data are too scarce to substantiate any definitive conclusions.

As far as loanwords are concerned, only two Greek common words are currently attested in Sidetic documentation, always adapted to Sidetic phonology and morphology: *iśtratag* from Gr. στρατᾱγός 'army leader, commander' (and perhaps *iśtratagej-*, possibly from *στρατᾱγεία, variant of στρατηγία, unless *iśtratagejaś* should be rather explained as *iśtratag ejaś*)[33] and *anaϑemat-* 'offerings' from Gr. ἀναθήματα (unless one should instead segment *anaϑemataś* as *anaϑema taś*).[34]

Beyond proper names, two possible Sidetic words are found in Greek sources: ζειγάρη occurs in the lexicon by Hesychius, glossed as ὁ τέττιξ παρὰ Σιδήταις, "the cicada, according to the Sidetans,"[35] while λαέρκινον is given by Galenus (14.72) as the name of the καρπήσιον (*Valeriana Dioscoridis*) at Side in Pamphylia.[36] Of course, the actual Sidetic status of these words is by no means assured.

4 Pisidian

Until quite recently, the Pisidian language was known only from a small corpus of fewer than 50 very short funerary inscriptions in a Greek-derived alphabet from the area of Tymbriada (2nd–3rd centuries CE), near the source of the river Eurymedon.

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33 See Pérez-Orozco 2007:138.

34 See the discussion in eDiAna, s.v. Sidetic *anaϑemata* (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=1185).

35 See Brixhe 1976a:84–85 and eDiAna s.v. Sidetic ζειγάρη 'cicada' (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=1252).

36 See eDiAna s.v. Sidetic λαέρκινον 'Valeriana dioscoridis' (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=1027).

A first edition, comprising only 16 inscriptions, was provided by Ramsay (1895), who also first labeled the language *Pisidian* after Strabo (13.4.17). Such a designation was later challenged by Shafer (1950), who pointed out that the inscriptions cluster on the northeastern border of Pisidia, whereas the information given by Strabo on the Pisidian language does not seem to fit that area. Thus, according to Shafer's reconstruction, the language of the *Pisidian* inscriptions may instead be Cilician. The same corpus compiled by Ramsay was also given by Zgusta (1957) and Metri (1958), with some corrections to Ramsay's word division and interpretation. New discoveries have since increased the corpus: one new inscription was added by Borchhardt et al. (1975) and six more by Brixhe and Gibson (1982). Brixhe's 1988b edition included 21 texts (two of the inscriptions published in Brixhe and Gibson 1982 were not included), to which 15 new inscriptions must be added published by Brixhe et al. (1987), four more published by Brixhe and Özsait (2001), and two others coming from the middle Eurymedon valley published by Fuhrmann and Neumann (2005). The corpus compiled by Adiego (2012) comprised 44 inscriptions. Subsequently, two more inscriptions from the middle Eurymedon have been published by Brixhe and Özsait (2013). Currently, the most recent edition by Brixhe (2016) comprises 49 northern inscriptions (N 1–49) and four southern inscriptions (S 1–4). Finally, two unintelligible inscriptions from Pisidia have been published in Bean (1956:151; no. 48, from Osmankalfalar) and Bean (1959:76; no. 19, from Büğdüz = SEG 19:755), but these are not included in the Pisidian corpus.

The linguistic material provided by these inscriptions is quite scant in that they mostly consist of onomastic formulae including only personal names;[37] nevertheless, this has allowed scholars to suggest that the Pisidian language belonged to the Luwic subgroup of the Anatolian branch.[38] Furthermore, some Pisidian personal names and toponyms were also indirectly known from Greek

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[37] See already Ramsay (1895:356): "Les inscriptions paraissent mentionner essentiellement les noms et la parenté du mort." Very different analyses of the texts, since proven to be wrong (see already Zgusta 1957), were provided by Brandenstein (1933–1934) and Shafer (1950), also later defended by Hemer (1980).

[38] See, e.g., Melchert 1994:44–45 (based only on the presence of a genitival adjective). See also an earlier claim by Shafer (1950:258), based on the nominatives ending in -α: "in the present state of our knowledge *Pisidian* is at least as likely to be related to Lycian as to Greek or Latin." Pisidian would be closer to Lycian according to Zgusta (1963:480–481), but closer to Sidetic according to Neumann (1978:874 fn. 6), whereas Starke (1999) regards it as a late form of Iron Age Luwian (see also Lebrun 2012:353 and, far more cautiously, Melchert 2003b:177), which has recently been rejected by Simon (2017d), who suggests that Pisidian was either part of the Carian-Lycian-Milyan dialectal continuum or a late development of Milyan.

sources, but their status as genuine Pisidian names is questionable. The new inscriptions that have been found in the area of Asar Kale, on the middle course of the Eurymedon, include a complete, 13-line inscription (Kesme 2), which is currently the longest Pisidian inscription.[39] However, because these new texts are mostly unintelligible, no significant progress has been made in the understanding of the language, and our knowledge still relies on personal names.

An interesting point is the late date of Pisidian inscriptions, which are generally dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries CE. According to the analysis of Bru (2017:242–244), this could be a "caractérisation linguistique de l'anthroponymie *a posteriori*," as a form of differentiation of cultural identity by means of language, following the model of the Greek language (from which they take the alphabet and the funerary epigraphic tradition), which had successfully imposed itself as the official language of the Roman East.

Given the nature of its corpus, Pisidian currently does not provide any data that would be particularly relevant to the investigation of language contact in ancient Anatolia. As for the writing system, one may note that the southern inscriptions employ both the common digamma (F) and the Pamphylian one (И), whereas no digamma is found in the larger corpus of northern inscriptions. From a linguistic point of view, no bilingual inscription is currently found, but some northern inscriptions (N 31, N 34 and perhaps also N 30, although the latter's place in the Pisidian corpus has recently been challenged[40]) featuring both Pisidian and Greek names show an interesting phenomenon of code-switching: Pisidian names (or names perceived as such) are inflected according to Pisidian grammar, whereas Greek names follow the Greek inflection, even within the same phrase, e.g., Μηνι Τίτου, Τατι Τίτου, Νέμεσις Μηνις, "Meni (Pis.) son of Titos (Gr.), Tati (Pis.) son of Titos (Gr.), Nemesis (Gr.), son of Meni (Pis.)" (N 31).[41]

As for place names, an Anatolian etymology appears most likely for some 40 toponyms attested in the area of ancient Pisidia (besides other place names of different origins, mostly Greek); however, given our very limited knowledge of the Pisidian language—currently reliant solely on personal names—it is impossible to determine whether the Anatolian language (or, perhaps better, one of the Anatolian languages) to which these toponyms belong can be identified with the language we label *Pisidian*.[42]

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39   See Brixhe and Özsait 2013; Brixhe 2016 (text S 2); Adiego 2017.
40   See Obrador-Cursach and Adiego (2017), who advocate a purely Greek interpretation.
41   See Brixhe (2016:89–91, 127) and Bru (2017:240–242).
42   For a general overview on Pisidian toponomastics and some examples, see Locatelli (2021).

5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, we have dealt with three minor languages of Anatolia: Pamphylian, Sidetic, and Pisidian. The latter two are Anatolian languages, whereas Pamphylian is essentially a Greek dialect for which, however, a number of interference phenomena have been found that have led some scholars to consider it more Anatolian than Greek. The minor-language status of this trio, attested in southern Anatolia, is dictated by the smallness of their respective corpora, being more or less reduced—particularly for Pamphylian, which is marginal even in geographical terms.

We have discussed possible contact phenomena, proposing an interpretative grid that intends to analyze them from epigraphic and philological points of view, seeking solutions that consider both diachronic and synchronic aspects, as well as inheritance, inner development, and contact.

Finally, referring to minor languages, it is worth remembering that some other populations are mentioned in ancient sources, such as Cauconias, Solymi, Ceteians, and Leleges in Strabo 14.5.28. For those languages we have neither testimony, nor inscriptions, nor literary text. These are ethnonyms, which historians and archaeologists may study order to trace their corresponding material cultures. In addition to the ethnonyms (and often related to them), there are the glottonyms—the names of languages—a particular class of which is formed by those glottonyms not corresponding to any *linguistic product*. In other words, we know that a language existed in a certain area, or that some people spoke a given language, but we have no direct attestation of this language—at least, not yet.

This scenario could be further enriched by drawing attention to such evidence—both cultural and linguistic—that, despite a lack of actual correspondence in any documented historical reality, may nonetheless offer interesting insights upon which to broaden ongoing research.

Conclusions to Volume 2

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First-millennium Anatolia represents a very complex and articulated area, both linguistically and historically. Several cultures seem to have emerged, resulting in written traditions and sociolinguistic scenarios that interacted with each other in complex ways.

In the Anatolian mainland, Syro-Anatolian or Neo-Hittite principalities, inheriting Hittite cultural traits, engaged in a quadripartite cultural and political interaction with Assyria, Phrygia and Urartu. By contrast, in Central Anatolia there is no uncontroversial evidence that Luwian hieroglyphic literacy re-emerged or was re-introduced before the early 8th century BCE. The southeastern part of this area entered the sphere of Assyrian political action around the mid-9th century after the campaigns by Shalmaneser III in the region known from Assyrian sources as Tabal. During the second half of the 8th century, Phrygia also entered the international scene.

The case of northern Syria is quite different. Based on the linguistic evidence, the defining feature of this area is the interference between Luwian and Semitic languages, especially Aramaic and Phoenician, which created a diverse cultural continuum broadly enclosed between Assyria, the Taurus mountains and the upper Orontes valley. This area was home to some of the earliest attested Syro-Anatolian polities, namely Karkemiš on the Euphrates and the partly mysterious and much-fabled kingdom of Palastin in northern Syria. Cilicia was another area of complex cultural interactions, possibly involving all the linguistic milieus that we addressed in this volume, with the presence of Luwian, Phoenician and perhaps (allegedly and quite debatably) Greek.

Moving westwards, western Anatolia is a complex and fascinating area of interface, with civilizations that were part of the Anatolian cultural and linguistic network and, at the same time, co-existed with the Aegean world during both the second and the first millennium BCE. The best known among the late polities is the kingdom of Lydia, with its capital city Sardis, for which we possess historical information that pre-date the Achaemenid conquest. Other areas, such as the Lycian region, emerge later in the sources, and their textual production reflects even more the complex features of the Aegean-Anatolian interface during the ages of Persia and the Hellenistic stage.

Turning to linguistic data, we tried to organize this volume in a fashion that attempts to reflect the complexity of the geo-historical scene. The first part

was dedicated to Anatolia and Syro-Anatolia, with the identification of areas of interference between Anatolian and Semitic.

First of all, we have the case of Cilicia, where Luwian mostly interacted with Phoenician, while the sociolinguistic role of Greek, in spite of some optimistic scholarly reconstructions, still appears very meager. Nevertheless, Cilicia interestingly behaves as a very specific area: moving eastwards, one encounters Zincirli/Sam'al, that presents a different sociolinguistic panorama, featuring a complex interaction between at least five different varieties or languages (Luwian, Phoenician, Sam'alian, Old Aramaic, and the peculiar Aramaic dialect of the KTMW stele). The rest of the Syro-Anatolian area is strongly polarized: the Tabal region does not show significant traces of Semitic interference, at least for the Middle Iron Age, while the rest of Syria presents different cases of Luwo-Aramaic contact, with syntactic interference possibly at work in some southern texts from Hama.

Language contact with West Semitic also concerns the other Anatolian languages of the later first millennium, spoken in areas that were part of the Achaemenid Empire, in which Aramaic was one of the official languages. And, of course, Anatolian languages of the first millennium are also the bridging point between the two parts of the volume, because of their extensive contacts with Greek, which brings us to the problem of the Western interface.

While we tried to also provide a study of the interferences between Greek and the Western Anatolian languages (mostly, but not exclusively, Lycian and Lydian), the analysis of the Aegean world moved on different paths as well. The problem of the sociolinguistic contacts during second millennium BCE is discussed from two different perspectives. Firstly, we considered the Pre-Greek hypothesis, which turned out to be quite problematic as it is treated inconsistently by different scholars. Secondly, we proceeded to examine the contacts between Mycenaeans and Anatolian peoples, which, while historically certain, do not seem to have generated much evidence for direct language interference. The situation changed, of course, during the first millennium, when Western Anatolia became an area of intensive co-existence of Greeks and locals, with a rich circulation of loanwords and *Wanderwörter*, which can be found in direct sources, or in secondary sources such as the collection of glosses by the classical and late antique scholars (as we argued, however, one should be cautious when using the latter, indirect kind of evidence). Cases of possible grammatical interference emerge only occasionally both in monolingual and in bilingual materials, although it is often impossible to establish if they reflected a true change in the language or if we are dealing with cases of translationese.

When comparing the results of this second volume with those published in the first one (Giusfredi, Matessi, and Pisaniello 2023), the impression is that the

evidence for sociolinguistic interference is, for the full and late first millennium, significantly richer. This may, of course, be a case of documentation bias. In other words, it may simply depend on the larger number of corpora and on the extension of the alphabetic Greek one (as opposed to a Bronze Age situation that was necessarily centered around the Hittite archives). But it is not impossible that the intensification of language contact was, in fact, also a true historical tendency. One should indeed consider the growth of long-distance trades and the birth of structured superregional empires such as the Neo-Assyrian and the Achaemenid ones. It seems quite reasonable to conclude that the lively circulation of loanwords or *Wanderwörter* in the East Aegean area or the diffusion of Semitic languages, at least in the written medium, to regions in which they were not present before, may also depend on a lively network of long-distance connections between what, with conventional labels that should certainly be revised, we still call the East and the West.

Addenda to Volume 1

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A Note on the Language of Kalašma

Elisabeth Rieken and Ilya Yakubovich

During the excavation campaign in Boğazköy in 2023 (Andreas Schachner, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut), a well-preserved cuneiform text (now published by Daniel Schwemer as KBo 71.145) was recovered in Boğazköy-Hattuša between the foot of Büyükkale in the south and the foot of Ambarlıkaya in the north. Immediately, the find attracted a great deal of attention, as it contained a recitation in a previously unknown language said to be recited "in the town of Kalašma" (ᵁᴿᵁ*Ka-la-aš-mi*) or—if the emendation as ᵁᴿᵁ*Ka-la-aš-mi-⟨li⟩* is correct—"in the language of Kalašma." This town is located to the north-west of the core area of the Hittite empire and to the west of the Pala lands, near modern-day Bolu. Regardless of the reading, ᵁᴿᵁ*Ka-la-aš-mi* or ᵁᴿᵁ*Ka-la-aš-mi-⟨li⟩*, it is clear that the language of the text, now known as "the Kalašma text", must be the one spoken in Kalašma.

The fragment preserves the lower half of an upright rectangular single column tablet. Differently from the prototypical tablets found in the Hattuša archives, the tablet under discussion has a rather rough and uneven shape, but its surface is well preserved. It is inscribed in an unusually large script, with sign shapes associated with the second half of the 13th century BCE. The first eight lines after the break feature Hittite ritual instructions, describing an offering of meat, wine and bread to an unnamed deity, probably ᵈ10 *dupattanašši-* "the Storm God against downstriking" (*scil.* of the ritual lord). Line 9′ introduces the recitation in (the language of) Kalašma. The Kalašmian text extends over the rest of the obverse (obv. 10′–20′) and continues over the three lines of the reverse (rev. 1–3). An Akkadogram, *QA-TI* "completed" written on a separate line and a double paragraph line mark the end of the entire text. The non-Hittite part of the text does not use any determinatives or heterographic spellings (Akkadograms or Sumerograms), which fits in with the overall findings, as Hattuša scribes typically use heterographic spellings very sparingly in non-Hittite text passages. The text seems to be a field note taken by a scribe in Kalašma, intended to be integrated into a large-size archival tablet reporting about the procedures of the entire ritual.

Although the genre of the text that follows the Hittite introduction, a short incantation embedded in a ritual, is well-known, its linguistic features diverge sufficiently from those of any other language attested thus far in the Hattuša

archives in order to posit a new language. At the same time, the combinatorial analysis has demonstrated beyond doubt that Kalašmian possesses roots, suffixes and endings that are also known from the other daughter-languages of the Anatolian branch of Indo-European (e.g., *-un(n)i* 1pl.pres.act.; *-ta* 2/3sg. pret.act.; *-ru* 3sg.imp. medio-passive; *-(u)war* verbal noun nom.-acc.sg.; *-a* nom.-acc.pl.n.; *-du* personal pronoun 2/3sg.dat.-loc.; *-mu* personal/reflexive pronoun 1sg.dat.-loc.). Others, like *tawinzi* nom.-acc.pl.c. of *taw(i)-* 'eye' and *-šumma* enclitic 1pl. possessive pronoun nom.-acc.pl.n, can be immediately understood by way of their etymological cognates (for a detailed discussion, see Rieken, Yakubovich, and Schwemer 2024).

A preliminary analysis of the lexical, phonological and morphological features of the short Kalašmian text permits the conclusion that its language is not identical with Luwian, but perhaps close enough to classify it as Luwic; cf. Luwic **#st-* > *#t-* or 1pl.pres.act *-un(n)i*. At the same time, the dat.-loc.sg. ending *-iya* and *šiu-* 'god' are reminiscent of Hitt. *-iya* and *šiu-* 'id.', while *mūš-* 'to satiate oneself' is shared with Palaic, and the sound change **sḱ* > *zk*, if correctly postulated, represents an exclusive isogloss between Palaic and Kalašmian. Most surprisingly, Kalašmian generalized the pronominal nom.-acc.sg.n. ending *-d* to nominal stems, a feature that is otherwise only found in Lydian in the first millennium BCE. All in all, the geographical position of Kalašmian to the north of the centre of the Anatolian linguistic area, but halfway between its Eastern and Western fringes is compatible with the assumption that the language under discussion participated in the lively linguistic exchange in second millennium Anatolia and shared isoglosses with more than one of its neighbouring sister languages.

The Language of KBo 19.164+

David Sasseville

Another recorded language found in the archives of Hattuša is the one of KBo 19.164+, which had been noticed first by Corti (2003) and then by Soysal (2004). In 2023, I presented at the 12th international Hittitology conference in Istanbul a philological and morphological approach on this obscure language and argued that it is a Kaškean language. In the forthcoming paper, I also introduce the direct joining of four fragments, i.e., KBo 19.164 + KBo 37.30 + KBo 51.238 + KBo 48.173, that I made at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations at Ankara, based on some suggestions made by Corti. The first link between this text and the Kaškean culture that is discussed is the equation of the deity ᵈÚ-e-ha-nu-up-t[e-ni ...] (KBo 37.30 iv 8′) with the one of ᵈ10 ha-nu-up-te-ni mentioned in a treaty with Arnuwanda I as one of the Storm gods of the Kaškeans (KUB 23.77a obv. 12). Further, the morphological approach on the language yields a number of affixes that match the ones obtained in von Schuler's (1965:83–107) analysis of the Kaškean language based on onomastic data.

The language in question makes use of logograms and determinatives, which facilitates the interpretation of some words, although the highly fragmentary context makes any attempt at translating in vain. Most attested words tend to be very long, e.g.,]x-takaddūruwitta, uštepittahšiši, katappinapši[p(-), hāukuwaizzatte, hawipurāli, and hāwahšiši, making this language look like an agglutinative one. Fragmentary words are also highly useful, since they show similar affixes betraying the highly productive morphology of the language, e.g.,]-parahšipi,]-eruweši, (-)]ašhapēni, wetahapar[a-, aštepent[a-, and pizup-pittie[(-). Therefore, the recognition of important suffixes and prefixes such as -hši, -ruwi, -ēni, -itta, ma-, ha-, ta-, we-, and probably pi- allows us to analyze more precisely Kaškean toponyms and personal names such as �URUPittalahši, �URUIšhūpitta, �URUDaištipašša, ᵐTippūrruwi, ᵐPihatahi, and ᵐHataipta-. Furthermore, the language of the text shows the use of full reduplication in words like dummudummuhši and taritarihši (cf. �URUTaritara), which is also common in Kaškean names, e.g., ᵐHerheri- and ᵐPištišti-. A broader analysis of the Kaškean data recoverable from Hittite contexts leads to the recognition of the patronymic function of two Kaškean affixes, i.e., pi- and -ēni, attested in ᵐHimuiliš pitahuštiš 'Himuili, son of Tahušti', ᵐPaziziš pitūntūna['Pazizi, son of Tuntuna', ᵐTuttu pihapzupi 'Tuttu, son of Hapzuppi', [ᵐT]atili pidupiy[

'Tatili, son of Dupiy[', ᶠ*Utati pitagattēni* 'Utati, daughter of Pitagatti', ᶠ*Kattittahi* ᵐ*Tatilēni* 'Kattittahi, daughter of Tatili', and ᶠ*Utati zagašaluwaššēni* 'Utati, daughter of Zagašaluwašša'.

The Kaškeans are well known from historical sources and, therefore, it should not surprise us that their language turns out to be recorded by the Hittites. Even though these people were considered to be more primitive, their rites would have nonetheless found their way into the Hittite capital, which is what the text of KBo 19.164+ appears to transmit. Provided that the identification of this language as Kaškean is correct and that more pieces are recovered, it would open up a new path towards the more exact study of the Kaškean culture and the traces it left in the Hittite world or in any other nearby culture.

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Index of Quoted Texts and Passages

Cuneiform Texts

Anatolian Hieroglyphic Texts (Bilinguals are Conventionally Listed Here)

Anatolian Alphabetic Texts (Carian, Lycian, Lydian, Milyan, Sidetic, and Pisidian)

West Semitic Texts (including the Bible)

Other Texts

Index of Divine Names

The same criteria employed for personal names apply to this index, too.

Index of Names of Places and Peoples

The usual criteria apply to this list, too. In addition, ancient names are italicized. Due to their very high frequency, the following names are excluded: Aegean, Anatolia, Aramaeans, Assyria, Assyrians, Caria, Carians, Cilicia (including Pedia and Trachea), Babylon, Babylonia, Babylonians, Egypt, Egyptians, Euphrates, Greece, Greeks, Hatti, Hittites, Karkemiš, Levant, Lycia, Lycians, Lydia, Lydians, Malatya/Melid (and Arslantepe), Mesopotamia, Persia, Persians, Phoenicia, Phoenicians, Phrygia, Phrygians, Sea Peoples, Syria, Tabal.

Index of Personal Names

Note: since the number of names quoted in this volume is exceedingly high, to simplify the index we decided to limit the cross-references and the number of voices for matching forms in different languages. Names are listed, when possible, according to the language of origin, generally normalized in Latin alphabet as for our usual rules. For names that are originally Greek (Ἔυαρ-χος) and for forms that only occur in Greek alphabetic transmission (Ῥωζάρμα), we use Greek, with the exception of those of historical figures that are commonly normalized (Artaxerxes). The Greek alphabet will conventionally follow the Latin one in the list.

Subject Index

This is a selection of relevant subjects discussed in the volume. Obviously, the list cannot be complete. Names of grammatical cases and parts of speech are generally excluded, except for those that must be mentioned for specific reasons (e.g., "genitive" is present because of the phenomenon of genitival adjectives).

During the 1st millennium BCE, Pre-Classical Anatolia acted as a melting pot and crossroads of languages, cultures and peoples. The political map of the world changed after the collapse of the Bronze Age, the horizon of sea routes was expanded to new interregional networks, new writing systems emerged including the alphabets. The Mediterranean world changed dramatically, and Indo-European languages – Luwic, Lydian, but also Phrygian and Greek – interacted with increasing intensity with each other and with the neighbouring idioms and cultures of the Syro-Mesopotamian, Iranian and Aegean worlds. With an innovative combination of linguistic, historical and philological work, this book will provide a state-of-the-art description of the contacts at the linguistic and cultural boundary between the East and the West.

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